AKWESASNE NOTES

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WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
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Thank you,
The Staff of Akwesasne Notes

The Ecocide Of Gaia

Act I

Acid Rain: First Rumours Of Ecocide

(With Reconciliations To Advocacy Journalism)

by Rokwaho

Prologue

I was attendant at a conference recently which was attended by many Indian Journalists from North and Central America, and they were debating, in the midst of other topics, the subject of *"Advocacy Journalism."* The terminology was new to me but the responsibility of the station of the journalist was not. I was disturbed by the discussion but the feeling came from deep down inside and I could not encapsulate it in concept at that time. Being that it was a question challenging the integrity of my chosen profession, I deemed it a matter of some import which would require serious consideration. And, after having given it a good deal of thought I have arrived at a rationale which, at least for my case, lends human value to the profession of Indian Journalism, or as an American Journalist would call it, *Advocacy Journalism.*

It has, perhaps, been my presumption to self evidence that advocacy was the founding premise of Indian Journalism, for the reason that, as occupied and oppressed peoples, our people needed someone to advocate their rights and to keep them informed on matters affecting their disposition as a people struggling to survive the melting pot of Manifest Destiny. Akwesasne Notes was birthed in the midst of our sovereignty struggle and it was born to advocate for Mohawk people. However, the syncronized rise of the American Indian Movement broadened our spectrum of advocacy and before the end of the decade of the 1970's, the struggles of Indigenous peoples the world over had become our conscience.

The reemergence of an Indigenous global perspective was inescapable, even inevitable, given the principles which guides our advocacy, Kaianerekowa - the Great Good Way, or, the Great Law. Kaianerekowa is based on natural laws of diversity and it instructs that all peoples are entitled to exist as distinct cultures. This singular ideology of entitlement to be different seems to be a universal Indigenous precept, and one which has continually run afoul of prevailing monocultural empire builders. If we needed to use only one word to impart the atom of Indigenous struggle, that word would be *land* because our lives and cultures are woven into its blanket. Indigenous people have been struggling for land for as long as our occupiers have been in our lands.

→

From Alcatraz to Zelaya, genocide to ecocide, our coverage as journalists has diversified because of the monolithic nature of the destructive forces which threaten not just Indigenous peoples but the very earth we stand upon. Now we must advocate the survival of the Earth because all else is for naught if we commit ecocide.

We, and I mean the family of man, must resolve or lay aside the problems which divide us very soon, because they are microscopic beside the problem of preserving global habitability.

A little over a year ago, Akwesasne Notes launched a new publication, Indian Time, our latest Peace offering. It is founded upon the premise of advocating unity among the people of Akwesasne. The place to start doing something about world problems is right where you are. An informed people are a people empowered to transform their situation. The existence of Akwesasne Notes and Indian Time is the Great Law in motion.

From the Great Law:

"An Eagle will be placed at the top of this tree to see far into the distance. Should any danger threaten the lives of people of the Hotinonshonni an Eagle will immediately warn of its approach."

And, from another section:

"If any danger threatens the people or decendants of the Hotinonshonni, any person able to climb ot the top of the tree of Great Peace and sees the evil approaching shall call to the people of the Hotinonshonni that have gathered beneath this Great Tree and warn of the danger approaching."

The Eagle was an important symbol left by the Law Giver, that the price of Peace is and shall ever be Eternal Vigilance to forces which threaten the unity of the people. Thus, as Indian journalists, ours is the role of the far seeing eyes of the Eagle. We inform the people on matters of import to the well-being and survival of our decendants to the seventh generation. That's advocacy in the most profound sense of the word.

I think, perhaps, that this matter of Advocacy Journalism boils down to a question of human values rather than any question of its professionalism or ethics. Professionalism is a worry of career advocates. The real question is, do we advocate people or journalism?

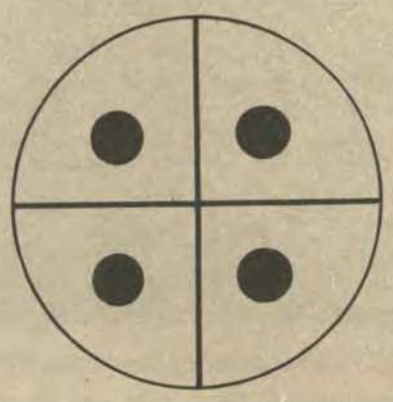
The following text on the effects and meaning of Acid Rain advocates for the trees and ultimately, the life of our planet mother, Gaia. The effects of Acid Precipitation on trees the world over may be the Miner's Canary to symptoms of eventual planet wide ecocide. As you will read, the deleterious effects of Acid Rain throughout our planetary ecosphere brings a whole new meaning into the semantics of "National Sacrifice Area."

ACID RAIN: FIRST RUMOURS OF ECOCIDE

"The original instructions direct that we who walk about on the Earth are to express a great respect, an affection, and a gratitude toward all the spirits which create and support Life. We give a greeting and thanksgiving to the many supporters of our own lives — the corn, beans, squash, the winds, the sun. When people cease to respect and express gratitude for these many things, then all life will be destroyed, and human life on this planet will come to an end."

Sotsisowah

(From "Basic Call To Consciousness")



Dead Waters

In the mid 1960's, a Swedish scientist, Svante Oden, discovered something about the composition of Europe's rainfall which was to become the first portent of the price we shall eventually pay for widespread air pollution. When Svante Oden started mapping the chemistry of Europe's rainfall, an expanding circumference of increasing environmental acidification began to emerge. While America was enjoying unprecedented economic prosperity - the so-called American Golden Age of the 1950's, acidification of the environment was increasing dramatically. Although there were no visible symptoms of lake or vegetation sickness at that time, Svante Oden's rain maps clearly showed the growing acidity spreading out from pollution sources in Europe's industrial center.

Then, the Swedish scientist made an important connection between acidified atmospheric conditions to the fish kill which was occurring in western Sweden. At first ridiculed, the notion that rainfall could become acidified by industrial pollutants has been confirmed by many atmospheric scientists so that there no longer exists any doubt that Acid Rain is in fact a by-product of industrial activities and our hydrocarbon lifestyle. The fish kill in western Sweden was only a prelude to the subsequent death and damage to thousands of acidified lakes in the higher elevation areas in Europe and the Northeastern United States.

To biologists who are monitoring the environmental effects of acid precipitation, the specter of lake decline has become a familiar pattern. When a lake becomes acidified, the fish and plant life die species by species until, with the exception of some algae and moss, no life can exist in the lake as it becomes severely acidified.

Lake chemistry, which is always closely linked to the land, is changed by the action of acid rain. The Eastern portion of the United States receives rain which is 10 times more acidic than what is considered normal. This Acid Rain dissolves aluminum from the soils surrounding a lake and enters the lake water. Fish are especially vulnerable to this combination of aluminum and acid, their gills erode, become clogged and the fish die from suffocation. Dissolved aluminum also kills Mycorrhizol fungi which is important to the health of most tree species.

Although all soils have some capacity of absorb acids, just how much depends on the chemistry and thickness of the soil in question. Some soils have a protective mechanism — calcium carbonate, these are the limestone soils. This protective mechanism works on the chemical principle that acids and bases neutralize each other when mixed together. The limestone in the soil reacts with the acid in the rainfall, neutralizing the acidity, thereby lending protection to the lake water. By the time the rain has filtered through the soil and reached the lake, the acidity has been neutralized. Unfortunately, few if any of the Adirondack's 2,500 lakes possess this protective chemistry. At last count, the Adirondack Mountain region in the Northeastern United States has 200 lakes which are too acidic to support life and another 200 which show some damage. Canada, to the north, has 2000 dead lakes, and if the amount of air pollution from both Canada and the United States are not sharply reduced, another 48,000 lakes will be threatened over the next 20 years. Presently, the United States produces about five times more sulfur pollution than Canada, sending about 2 million tons of sulfur dioxide per year on the prevailing winds into Canada. And Canada sends about a half-million tons per year south.

In Sweden, there are at least 3 to 4 thousand severely acidic lakes and another 14 to 15 thousand which are damaged. Out of its 90 thousand lakes, 18 to 20 thousand of them are affected by acid rain, numbers which indicate an advanced stage of ecological decline. Although both Sweden and Norway on the Scandinavian peninsula have adopted strict measures to reduce sulfur emissions from their own industries, their acid rain problem persists because the major portion of the acid rain affecting their environments originates in Great Britain, France, and Germany. Sweden is responsible for only about 22 percent of its sulfur burden, and Norway contributes, at most, 20 percent of its sulfur pollution. Europe's sulfur emissions remained at about 25 million tons yearly until 1950, however, since 1950 this level more than doubled reaching the level of 60 million tons yearly in 1973.

But from Sweden also comes some hope, or at least a short reprieve, for lakes which are in trouble. Scientists are applying their knowledge to neutralize acidity in their lakes and streams through a somewhat expensive but innovative approach. They are adding lime to their lakes and streams to neutralize the acidity. In Sweden, liming is going ahead on a massive scale. Each acre of lake requires about 2½ tons every year or two, costing approximately $50,000 per year for an average lake. Limed streams which have been restocked with fish are beginning to reproduce. An experimental liming program from crop dusting planes is underway in the Adirondacks in a bid to halt or at least slow down the acid death of lake after lake. Liming is a stop gap measure to be sure, because it must be continued for as long as there is acid in the rainfall. It may be that liming will buy only two or three decades for these lakes, because these lakes are proving to be only the first victims of acid rain.

The Black forest in Germany is dying and forests in the United States from North Carolina to Vermont are in a state of decline, due to the effects of the two other primary elements of acid rain — Ozone and Nitric acid. Initially, sulfuric acid, which is formed in the atmosphere via sulfur emissions from industrial coal burning, was targeted as the main culprit of the many dead and dying lakes in Europe and North America. The major political remedying has been aimed at the reduction of industrial sulfur emissions, as evidenced by the numerous sulfur reduction proposals in the European Parliaments, Congress and State Legislatures on both continents. However, rapidly accumulating scientific evidence of widespread ecological decline from the corrosive effects of acid rain is swiftly widening the parameters of both the science and politics of ecocide. Sulfur, as it is turning out, may be the least of acid worries.

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Kahnawake Mohawks Statement on Project Archipelago

Lachine Rapids Kahnawake Environment Photo

We, the people of the Mohawk Nation at Kahnawake, wish to inform all people who live on Turtle Island (North America) of our position regarding the Project Archipelago of the Province of Quebec. The lands on which we walk upon belong to the children, the Seventh Generation, and to our Ancestors who have walked upon it since the creation.

Over the centuries, our Ancestors have seen to it that those who have immigrated to this land had a place to lay their heads, raise their families and provide for the welfare of their oncoming generations. Through the years our people shared this land, not because our people were subject to the will of another people, but out of a cultural and spiritual belief that the creation should be shared with all the creatures of the Creator. With this, there is also another belief of our people, that this part of the world has been put in our trust to be protected from destruction or anything that will cause permanent damages to any of the forms of life that cohabitate this part of the planet.

We wish to make it clear that our opposition to this project goes beyond the physical construction of a dam. Our concern extends to the disruption and destruction of our relatives in the water life. They have already been severely injured by the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway and the numerous other projects that have been illegally placed within our territories.

Project Archipelago constitutes a violation of our territorial integrity and an unacceptable level of disruption to the remaining environment directly under our control. Our position remains firm that Project Archipelago will not be constructed within our ancient territory, and strongly urge the Province of Quebec to develop alternatives that will satisfy their needs.

According to our traditions, the triangular area bounded by the North-South shores of the St. Lawrence River, the Richelieu River, and the 'Border' between Canada and the U.S. is part of the territory of the Mohawk Nation. Non-Indian historians today can produce evidence to support this.

Thus, when Kahnawake was founded in the latter part of the 17th, century, it was peopled by Mohawks and other Iroquois who were merely relocating from one part of their territory to another. This part of our ancient territory was recognized by the French in the 1600's and after the fall of Quebec, by the English through the General Gage Judgement of 1792.

Through illegal land concessions, the Mohawk lost a large part of its territory on both sides of the border. The Mohawks of Kahnawake, with a population of 5,000 people now have effective control of approximately 12,000 acres, one third of the size of the original land area in the 17th century, and of course a miniscule part of the territory of the Mohawk Nation. Kahnawake suffered further land abuses through the imposition of rights of way for railways, highways, hydro lines, finally the St. Lawrence Seaway in the 1950's which cut us off from the St. Lawrence River.

This is another example of violation of our rights as the original people of this land. The Project Archipel is a direct violation of the Two Row Wampum, which symbolizes our international relationships between our people and the European people who came to this land.

The Mohawk have no desire to allow the further dismemberment of one of its communities and the further abuse of the land. The people of Kahnawake, with the help of the rest of the Mohawk Nation and the Haudenosaunee Confederacy (Six Nation Iroquois Confederacy) will actively resist the Project Archipel and welcomes the support of non-Indian groups or organizations who care about the land and our rights.

From: Kahnawake Environment.

PROJECT ARCHIPEL: Killing An Ecosystem

All but ignoring the sovereign nation of Mohawk Indians at Kahnawake, Project Archipel is being pushed on by the Province of Quebec and by its mega monster partner Hydro-Quebec, to kill the Lachine Rapids.

Project Archipel means damming for hydro-electric power, and thus destroying the last free-flowing rapids in the whole Great Lakes drainage system. It also means digging a huge trench, or flood control canal. And where is all this to be done? On Mohawk territory at Kahnawake, of course! 90% of the proposed project is to be on Mohawk land which is situated only nine miles from Montreal. Kahnawake means: On-the-Rapids, and the Mohawks of Kahnawake plan on keeping that name a living and vital link in the ecological balance of this part of the Great Lakes drainage system forever.

The promises of more electricity for Montreal and surrounding communities is a false one. James Bay, the hydro "Project Ecological Disaster" to the North, could easily supply these needs. The fact is a country to the south known as the U.S.A., eater of power to supply microwave ovens and TV sets, always greedy for more is to blame. Indeed, the U.S. demands and Canada responds as if to its parent.

The promises of a "people's" park and causeway for vehicles to view the beauty, is the icing used to sell the residents of Quebec on the quick-fix profits which is the real object of this project. The people of Kahnawake look at these citizens of Quebec, of Canada, and wonder: is this really **your** government? Do the residents of Montreal ever visit the Lachine Rapids and look at it? It is a very beautiful and natural part of the whole river system. Have they fished for the great sturgeon which live to 200 years and weigh up to 300 pounds? Do they know of the many other species of fish, birds and mammals which depend upon the Lachine Rapids for their existence?

With a major freeway cutting the reservation in half, with power lines and railroads already crisscrossing Kahnawake, garbage and waste dump sites: with the loss of a river now replaced by a filthy, slow moving canal known as the Seaway, through much of our former river front, can anyone blame our anger as being anything short of justified?

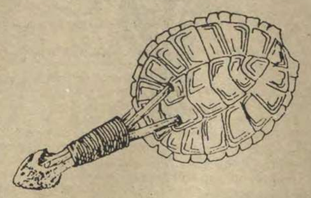
Development is a polite word for Earth-Rape! Development also translates into the pollution pouring from smoke stacks all around Kahnawake.

Anger is a last resort. Reason (Oriwa) is the way of the people of the Six Nations Confederacy. And with Reason in mind was born the Kahnawake Development Research Program. This program began as a study series on the impact of Project Archipel. Research was conducted to record the whole ecosystem of Kahnawake land, waters and air. This inevitably led to other studies in biology, health hazards, pollution, weather and even seasonal changes. What began as a stapled newsletter titled: *Kahnawake Environment*, became a newspaper of valuable resource materials which now includes notes on history, legend, treaty rights and education of our young people through our own Kahnawake Survival School. There are constant updates on research in progress. The many artists of Kahnawake added their work to make Kahnawake Environment a visually pleasing newspaper. Mohawk people everywhere are proud of this paper.

Let us remember that each of us is a part of the Creation, whether we live in Europe, Asia, Australia, or South America. Let us remember that arbitrary borders/boundaries were imposed by people and governments to define their concepts of "territory". The only true boundaries, if we must refer to them as such, which Creation recognizes are the natural ones of bodies of water & mountain ranges. Ecological zones define their own boundaries through evolution: plains, deserts, jungles, plateaus, delta, marsh, or arctic lands. Let us remember that Creation put us here and gave us the gift of Oriwa so that we could better act as guardians of all these gifts within the Creation. And finally, let us remember that Creation may at anytime take back all that it has given to us.

We are therefore asking you, whether you live in France, Germany, Russia, Japan or Montreal, Quebec: to think about what we have presented. If you see yourself as wanting to live in balance with the Creation and your own fellow humans, join us in this small but important beginning. Help us to save a rapids, to save a river, to preserve what was entrusted to the Mohawk people of Kahnawake as a promise to the future unborn generations, yours as well as ours.

Support us in any way you as an individual or part of a group may be able to. Contact Kahnawake Environment, Kahnawake Development Research Program, P.O. Box 720, Kahnawake, Quebec, Canada, JOL 1BO. Telephone: (514) 638-1621.



Deception and lies

The Quebec government's plans for a power dam on the historic Lachine rapids has predictably encountered fierce resistance from environmental groups concerned about its possible effects on the area's ecological balance, and equally predictably the far more serious concerns of the native population are largely going un-noticed. One determined group, however, intends to make sure this public indifference is put to the ultimate test.

The leader of the Ganienkeh (Iroquois) War Society recently told the Inquiry on Federal Water Policy that his people are prepared to take up arms to defend their traditional rights and coldly told Inquiry chairman Peter Pearse that the issue is non-negotiable. Well, good for him.

Native Americans are not the only people in this country with a vested interest in the maintenance of water and land quality, but they are the single group whose wishes and needs in this regard have been the most blatantly ignored and brushed aside. They are also the group most closely bound to the land and waters of this country in terms of tradition, culture and heritage.

When the white man first came to these shores the common attitude was that the vast and unexploited wealth of the North American continent was fair game for any who were resourceful enough and strong enough to take it. As a result of this policy of plunder, white civilization took less than 200 years to almost completely eradicate a culture that had existed here in harmony with its surroundings from time immemorial.

Encouraged by the convenient dictates of Church and Crown, the destroyers of this harmony prospered under the illusion that they were not only filling their purses, but were doing so in God's name for the ultimate good of the unfortunate 'savages' who stood in their way.

The European invaders demonstrated very early to the native population that they had no concern for aboriginal attitudes, claiming that progress and Christianity were sufficient excuses for plunder and genocide and, despite our self-righteous pretensions to the contrary, we, their descendants, follow eagerly in their footsteps.

VAGUE REFERENCES

Very few national or even provincial politicians in recent years have felt it possible to go through an election campaign without some vague reference to the principle of aboriginal rights, while lenghthy, complicated and high-sounding agreements have been reached which ostensibly allow our continued chipping away at the foundation of native culture — the free and open land. One need only examine the recent disaster on the Caniapiscau River to see how honorable we live up to our promises.

Confined as we are to a monetary perspective of what is important, we have been baffled at the apparent unwillingness of the stubborn Indians to hand over their patrimony for huge bundles of the coin of the realm. The native population, however, is not so confused.

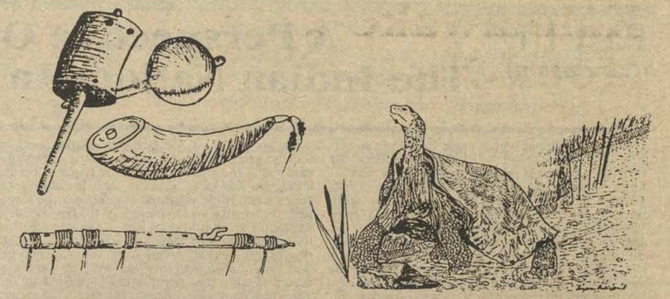
Since our arrival on this continent, the white man's progress has given the native population the benefit of disease, reservations, bigotry and isolation, while taking virtually everything they had. Still not satisfied, we insist on eating away at what little we have left them in exchange for considerations that have no value except as a cushion from the worst excesses of their total destruction. No wonder they're fed up.

Our society has refused to accept the possibility that another culture, with different sets of values and priorities can be just as valid in the larger scale of things as our own. We will never be able to understand what we consider plain obstinacy on the part of our native co-citizens.

There are none among us who would not support a man resorting to force to protect his hearth and family from the willful destruction of others. We should not be surprised then by native people who have known nothing from us but deception and lies, who finally decide that they have had enough. The ball is in our court now, let's see if our 'civilization' can handle it.

Michael McDevitt

Source: The Record, Sherbrooke, Quebec.



Editorials

Stop the boondoggle

According to a Canadian Press story that the Quebec government has not denied, Premier Levesque will announce in mid-month the creation of five riverside parks in the Montreal area.

Sounds terrific. Who can be against nice green parks? But this gift dressed up to look like Mother Nature bears a suspicious resemblance to a Trojan Horse.

The parks are potentially only the first phase — a PR beachhead — of a much more ambitious scheme that is profoundly anti-environment in outlook.

That piecemeal scheme, called Project Archipel, could construct six dams between Montreal Island and the South Shore, Ile Perrot, Ile Bizard and Ile Jesus. Last December the government approved one of these dams (to be built for $13 million in provincial and federal money at Riviere des Mille Isles' western end). And it is now reportedly looking on the remaining five dams with favor.

Of these dams, only one would have any economic rationale. This would be a hydroelectricity dam on the St. Lawrence at the Lachine Rapids. It would enable Hydro-Quebec to sell to the United States more power — though only 600 megawatts worth, about one-sixteenth of that produced at James Bay.

For a few U.S. dollars, then, Quebec would do havoc with the ecology and beauty of these historic rapids on Montreal's doorstep. How's that for a sell-out?

The five other dams' purpose would be to regulate water levels. The dams would help justify the $130 million cost of building the five riverside parks, for the government agency now studying Archipel's feasibility claims that the public cannot fully enjoy riverbanks unless water levels are stabilized.

If that fails to impress you, consider the agency's other pro-dam rationales:

- One argument is that people living on riverside frontage would be spared light flooding. Yet these areas have always been subject to such flooding, and if people insist on living in them — often for the scenery — it is their problem. It is emphatically not taxpayers' duty to guarantee these homeowners dry basements.
- Another argument is that the dams could, by being equipped with locks, allow people with boats to circumnavigate Montreal Island. In case you were wondering what Quebec can do with the money it saves by closing down hospital wings, now you know: It can make Montreal a yachtsman's paradise.

Less frivolous is the potential environmental effect of monkeying around with the area's waterways. Synchronizing the flows from six dams is no snap. The apparent role played by a Hydro-Quebec dam in this week's slaughter of thousands of caribou in northern Quebec is a cruel reminder of problems inherent in regulating waterways.

Also worrisome is Archipel's total burden to taxpayers, already the most oppressed in Canada. It would run to several billion dollars (not counting the cost of the dam at the Lachine Rapids, for which Hydro-Quebec would pay.)

Yet many local mayors welcome the scheme. They know voters like parks. And they know that provincial and federal taxes — not municipal — would pay for the lion's share.

The only respectable excuse for Archipel is that it would create thousands of temporary construction jobs. Goodness knows, Montreal can use more employment. But if we are to get make-work projects, let them achieve useful ends.

Quebec has already committed an unconscionable $44 million to studying Archipel. It should cut its losses now and drop all ideas of meddling with an environment that is already satisfactory.

If Quebec wants to build more parkland, fine, but let it assure the public that this will not be part of any larger piecemeal exercise in irresponsibility.

Source: The Gazette, Montreal, October 5, 1984.

Part III: *(Conclusion)* A Perspective On The Indian Nations In Canada

One of the things which made this greed so evident in history was the overwhelming tendency to treat the aboriginal peoples as a race that was inferior. This racism was very widespread, and had serious consequences. The aboriginal peoples were often regarded as savages that stood in the way of "progress" (i.e. the imposition of European ways), and as such, were many times persecuted and destroyed. Those who escaped that fate were "children" who needed to be "civilized" or assimilated, and this process is still going on today. There is still no respect for the aboriginal peoples, and they are still being made to conform to the demands of the immigrant European societies, which regard the aboriginal way as, at best, something which belongs in the distant past. The immigrant European societies are today willing to allow the aboriginal peoples to have their "cultural artifacts," but as Bob Overvold, a spokesman for the Dene, has pointed out, such "multiculturalism," which views the aboriginal peoples as just another ethnic culture, is neither applicable nor realistic.[65]

Thus, the factors of greed and racism can go a long way in explaining what happened between the aboriginal peoples and the peoples that came from Europe. Although certainly not all people from Europe (not all their descendents) manifested these characteristics of greed and racism, many, if not most "immigrant Europeans" did. More importantly, however, is the fact that on the level of society, greed and racism seem to play a predominant role. Land and resources were required by the immigrant European societies, and the aboriginal peoples had to be regarded as inferior if the European dominance was to prevail. At the base of all of this lie the assumptions, or way of viewing life, that the Europeans and their later immigrants had. It was largely inevitable that, given the philosophical direction of European societies (and later the Canadian and American ones), what happened to the aboriginal peoples did occur. The greed and racism that so characterized what happened are but the manifestations of a deeper problem — the nature of the differing "worldviews" of the aboriginal and European peoples.

The worldview of the immigrant European society, or "Western civilization," is basically characterized by the separation of man from his environment, and the placing of man at the center of the world of "being."[66] This man-centred, or "homo-centric" world view (from *homo-sapiens),*[67] in separating man from his environment, has made him superior to it, and this has come about because of the manipulation man has exerted over his environment (or Nature). For instance, the institution of animal domestication (herding and breeding) meant that man no longer had to rely on Nature for "the reproduction powers of the animal world."[68] Similarly, the development of irrigation meant that man now sought to manipulate the waters for his own benefit, and hence had to pay little regarded as something to ultimately be escaped from — the realm of Ideas was the highest reality.

Thus, the "homo-centric" worldview, which promoted the separation of man from his environment, also promoted, in effect the domination which man as the superior form of existence could expect to exert. The natural world, at a lower "level" of being, was not of great consequence, and could be exploited to serve the higher purposes of man — whether those higher purposes were expressed in terms of "progress," or something else. According to this logic, since nature was ordered according to a hierarchy of value, therefore there must be a hierarchy of value in mankind itself. Some were thus held to be inferior to others: slaves in ancient Greece, blacks in the American South, Jews in Nazi Germany, and aboriginals in immigrant-dominated North America. The interests of the superior could be pursued at the expense and to the detriment of the inferior.[73]

The overwhelming tendency within the homo-centric worldview, because of its emphasis on the centrality of man, and his superiority over his environment (both creation and other men), is towards domination and control. For instance, in religious terms, "chosen" man is seen as superior

Canada: The Musqueam Decision A Confirmation of Indian Rights

Professor Douglas Sanders
November 21, 1984.

The Musqueam Band sued the federal government for mismanagement of surrendered reserve lands. On November 1st, 1984, the Supreme Court of Canada not only ruled in their favour, but gave a far more positive judgment than most of us expected. The decision is important to Indian people in all parts of Canada.

Part of the credit should go to the federal Department of Justice. The federal lawyers argued that Indians had no legal rights to their reserve lands. They argued that reserves were federal lands that the government, out of benevolence or generosity, was administering for the benefit of Indians. They argued that any "trust relationship involved was simply a "political trust" and could not be enforced by the courts. It could only be enforced by bringing political pressure to bear on the federal government. That seemed somewhat unrealistic for the lease in the Musqueam case occured in 1958, two years before Indians could vote in federal elections. The federal lawyers were told by the trial judge that they could not argue "political trust" unless they amended their Statement of Defence. They did not ask that amendment, but went ahead and argued "political trust" in the Court of Appeal and in the Supreme Court of Canada. One Supreme Court judge commented that the Crown's tactics "left a lot to be desired". That is strong criticism by the standard of the Supreme Court of Canada. It seems clear that the judges of the Supreme Court of Canada were offended by the arguments put forward by the federal lawyers. In rejecting the federal government's position they went further in upholding Indian rights than they might otherwise have gone.

The case involved a lease of Indian reserve lands. There were three problems: (1) some provisions of the lease went directly against what the band had asked for, (2) other provisions of the lease were not disclosed to the band, and (3) the rental payments were less than the land was worth. The band sued the federal government arguing that the government had a legal duty to manage the land properly. The Supreme Court of Canada agreed and awarded the band ten million dollars in damages.

There are six aspects of the Supreme Court of Canada judgments that I would like to comment on.

1. **The judgments are very positive.**

The judgments strongly support Indian rights. They take points from earlier judgments and restate them clearly and more positively. There are clear statements about Indian aboriginal title to traditional lands. Chief Justice Dickson said at page 20:

> In **Calder v Attorney General of British Columbia,** (1973) S.C.R. 313, this Court recognized aboriginal title as a legal right derived from the Indians' historic occupation and possession of their tribal lands.

At p. 23 he quoted from a decision of the United States Supreme Court that the Indian tribes were

> ...the righful occupants of the soil, with a legal as well as just claim to retain possession of it.

The judgments clearly state that Indians own their reserves. There had been previous court decisions which had said this, but it has now been stated clearly and forcefully. The judgments quote with approval the famous decisions of Chief Justice Marshall in the United States Supreme Court. These decisions not only upheld Indian title to traditional lands, but ruled that Indian tribes were "dependent domestic nations" and "distinct political communities" and that the relationship between the tribes and the United States government flowed from principles of international law. **As a result of those judgments, tribal governments in the United States today are said, by the courts to have governmental powers flowing directly from their original political sovereignty.** While those portions of the Marshall judgments were not quoted by our Supreme Court in the Musqueam decision, it will now be much easier to argue these points using the U.S. decisions.

2. **The judgments recognize Indian rights as pre-existing rights.**

The judgments rule that Indian rights do not flow from the Royal Proclammation of 1763. They do not come from the **Indian Act.** They come from

"The Politics of Indian Affairs in Canada"

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to a fallen world, and consequently there is an emphasis upon the otherworldly aspect of man's life. The most familiar example of this is the Christian religion, where, in effect, man dominates not only creation (by virtue of God's command), but also other men — as people such as the Christian missionaries sought, and still seek, to impose the "truths" of Christianity on the "pagans" or "heathens."[74]

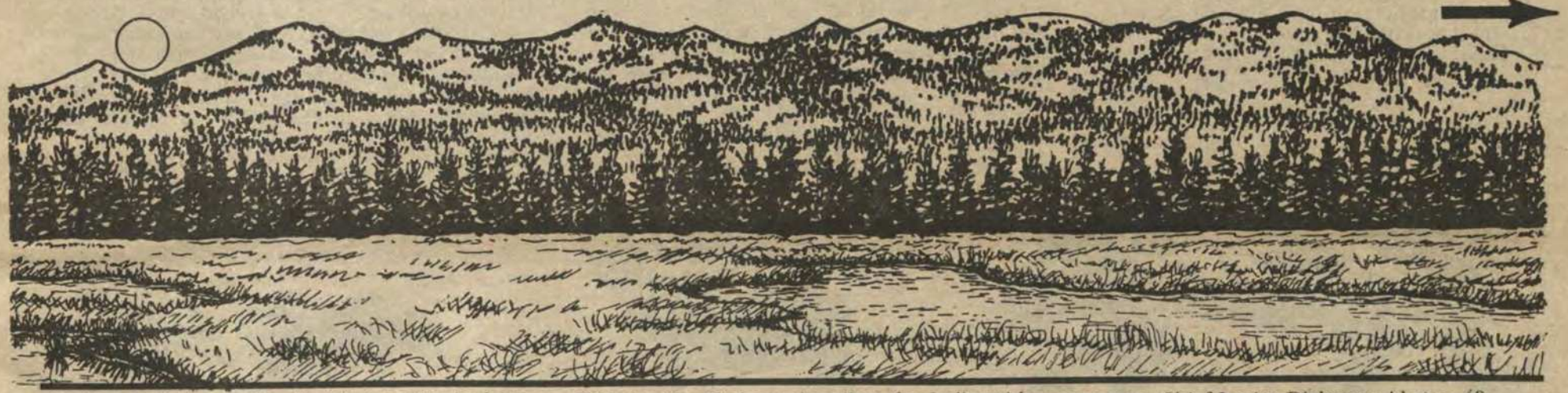
Politics, in the homo-centric worldview, is also based on conflict and domination. Since some men are above others (race, religion, intelligence, wisdom, etc.), politics consists of the use of physical force or of subtler measures such as majority rule to achieve the best ordering of men's lives.[75] In either case, politics in a homo-centric world involves the imposition of order, be it just for the good of a few, or for the good of the whole. And even the generally desirable concept of emphasizing the "good of the whole" is suspect when one examines the clash between the immigrant Europeans and the aboriginal peoples of the Americas. The good of the whole inevitably meant the imposition of the ways of the domineering European society.

But it is with the question of man's relationship to the rest of creation that one can see the true extent of the domination and control inherent in the home-centric worldview. Man, as a higher level of being, looks upon creation as something to be dominated and used for the benefit of man. Science is a good manifestation of this tendency, for by it, man seeks to understand nature with a view to controlling and employing it for ends which man determines. This is so, even when the real costs far outweigh the benefits. Perhaps the best example of this tendency is the production of nuclear energy. Man, through sicence and technology, has tampered with basic forces in Nature, and through this, has created a trememdous threat to all living things. Every year, thousands of pounds of radioactive waste is produced while there is really no safe place to store it. Yet the faith that people have in science remains strong: they have confidence that science will correct any problems that are created. Nature, as such, becomes an adversary to be subjugated. Man, and his sicence, become the centre of the universe.[76]

Another good example of the attitude which enables man to thus dominate the rest of creation, and which flows out of the conception of man as a superior level of being, is the notion that parts of creation, or all of it, can be owned by man. To think that man can own creation is a perfect example of the domination inherent in the homo-centric worldview. This domination can be seen in the ownership of animals and plants and especially that of other humans (slavery), but it is much more common in the idea of man owning land, or in the idea of man's right to proprietorship of the land. It would not matter whether the land was owned privately, publicly, or communally — the idea of ownership still remains, and stands as a fundamental part of the homo-centric worldview. The land, as it can be owned, can be used for the benefit of man, which may be beneficial to some men, or even all men, but it still consists of exploiting for man's advantage, and in effect dominating another part of creation.

In contrast to the homo-centric European worldview, the North American aboriginal worldview is fundamentally different in that it is not "homo-centric," but "eco-centric."[77] According to the aboriginal worldview, man is not at the center of being, as an individual separate from his environment, but man is seen as an integral part of the environment. The "self," in other words, is made up not only of the individual person, but also of the various elements or parts of being or existence — i.e. the Great Spirit, the spirits, animals, plants and the rest of creation.[78] Thus, man is viewed as essentially part of a "community of being," and his part is to find an harmonious place in creation with the other components of the community:

> Man's role is less that of reaching "autonomy" than that of achieving "ontonomy" i.e. of collaborating with all



the fact the Indians controlled their territories long before the Europeans came to North America.

The **St. Catherines Milling** case, decided in 1888, had ruled that Indian title came from the Royal Proclammation of 1763, this led to a long debate as to whether the Royal Proclammation applied to various parts of Canada (with the federal government arguing that it only applied to Southern Ontario and a small part of Quebec). The **Calder** decision in 1973 was still preoccupied with the question whether the Royal Proclammation applied in British Columbia, though in the end six judges held that the issue did not affect the outcome. Now the Supreme Court has clearly said that the Proclammation is not the source of Indian rights. It is, instead, a source of Crown responsibilities:

> An Indian band is prohibited from directly transferring its interest to a third party. Any sale or lease of land can only be carried out after a surrender has taken place, with the Crown then acting on the band's behalf. The Crown first took this responsibility upon itself in the Royal Proclammation of 1763.

The nature of the Indian title (specifically the aspect that, by English law, it can only be sold to the Crown) gives rise to this special responsibility on the part of the Crown, a responsibility expressly assumed in the Royal Proclammation of 1763. This means that the Indian title and the special Crown responsibility to manage Indian assets both pre-exist the Royal Proclammation and the **Indian Act.** Any Crown "trust" responsibility or "fiduciary" duty is, then, a part of "aboriginal rights" because it flows from the nature of aboriginal title to land. These pre-existing rights and responsibilities exist both in relation to traditional territories and in relation to reserve lands.

3. **Indian title and the relationship to the Crown are unique.**

Chief Justice Dickson describes the Indian title and the special relationship of the tribes to the Crown both as *sui generis,* a latin phrase signifying uniqueness. Chief Justice Dickson was concerned that the relationship, in his view, did not fit exactly into the existing law on trust relationships. He seems also to have been concerned that trust law was so technical that the rules might not work well in the Indian title context. He referred to the law of trusts as "a highly developed, specialized branch of the law" (p. 36). For these reasons, he avoided calling the Crown responsibility a trust obligation, but referred to the much more flexible concept of a "fiduciary duty". He stressed that this was much like a trust obligation, but he was anxious to develop an approach which was both flexible and apropriate for the Indian context. He wrote his judgment for himself and three other judges. Madame Justice Bertha Wilson, who wrote her judgment for herself and two other judges, ruled that the relationship was a trust relationship. Mr. Justice Estey, writing for himself alone, described the relationship in terms of the law of agency. Technically, there is no majority ruling on this point, but all three judgments agree that there is an enforceable legal relationship. None apply technical legal rules which would frustrate Indian claims.

4. **The Court looked behind the documents to the oral promises.**

The federal government's lawyers asked the courts to look only at section 18 of the Indian Act and at the wording of the surrender document (which was unconditional). They said the courts should pay no attention to the negotiations which went on between the Department of Indian Affairs and the band. Any promises made or instructions given had to be ignored, they said, unless they were included in the surrender document itself. The Supreme Court of Canada clearly rejected this argument. Chief Justice Dickson said at p. 40:

> ...the Crown, in my view, was not empowered by the surrender document to ignore the oral terms which the band understood would be embodied in the lease. The oral representations form the backdrop against which the Crown's conduct in discharging fiduciary obligations must be measured. They inform and confine the field of discretion within which the Crown was free to act. After the Crown's agents had induced the band to surrender its land on the understanding that the land would be leased on certain terms, it would be unconscionable to permit the Crown simply to ignore those terms.

Indians have long argued that the treaties must be understood in terms of the actual negotiations and promises, not in terms of the written English version prepared by the government. In the Musqueam decision, the Supreme Court of Canada have applied that approach in examining the surrender document. They have tried to find out what the understanding of the Indians was, not simply what the government officials drafted as the operative document.

5. **The Court recognized the band council as able to act for the band.**

This is perhaps the least obvious point about the judgment. Certain terms of the proposed lease were discussed at a band meeting and, of course, the surrender vote was a band vote, not a band council decision. Yet, after the surrender, there were negotiations between the Department of Indian Affairs and the band council and the court held that the band council was able to represent the band in instructing the Department on what was acceptable or not acceptable. The Indian Act could have been restrictively interpreted, as the Department commonly argues, it should, with the result

> beings in the Cosmi Harmony that constitutes his humanity.[79]

Man's life does not therefore consist of so much rights (over other kinds of being), but more of duties and responsibilties toward the "Great Peace and Harmony."[80]

There are many implications of this worldview. Religiously, the aboriginal worldview emphasizes the spiritually of all aspects of life and being. There is little need to distinguish between the sacred and the secular, for all is sacred and secular at the same time. All being is united in the reality of the Great Peace.[81] This unity of being, in turn, has important consequences for the political realm of life, for spirituality is at the heart of aboriginal politics:

> The primary law of Indian government is the spiritual law...Spirituality is the highest form of politics, and our spirituality is directly involved in government. As chiefs we are told that our first and most important duty is to see that the spiritual ceremonies are carried out. Without the ceremonies, one does not have a bias on which to conduct government for the welfare of the people. This is not only for our people, but for the good of all living things in general.[82]

Since the emphasis in politics is also part of the overall emphasis on harmony and community according to the aboriginal worldview, there is no room in politics for "might is right" or "majority rule" (or even voting or representation for that matter).[83] What is required is the seeking of consensus through deliberation and cooperation; anything less takes away from the aboriginal way:

> The first lesson to be learned when dealing with Indian government is one of patience and one of thoroughness, because there are no short cuts. As soon as you begin to short-cut, you begin to detract from the complete thought and the process for its achievement. This process works through discussion until consensus is reached, not be voting.[84]

Leaders are therefore supposed to be those who seek after that consensus, who do not seek their own ends by exerting power over others, but instead serve to "mirror" that Great Peace which exists and of which man is but a part.[85] And this idea of consensus-seeking extends not only to men, but also to the rest of creation. Young Chief, a Cayuse, would not sign the Treaty of Walla Walla because he did not consider the other components of being as represented in the document:

> I wonder if the ground has anything to say? I wonder if the ground is listening to what is said? I wonder if the ground would come alive and what is on it? Though, I hear what the ground says...The ground says, the Great Spirit placed me here to produce all that grows on me, trees and fruit. The same way the ground says, it was from me man was made. The Great Spirit, in placing man on earth, desired them to take good care of the ground and to do each other no harm.[86]

It is precisely this worldview of harmonious living with all being, of all existence tied up into one unity, that precludes the formation of one of the distinguishing characterisitics of the European worldview: the ownership way, can no more be owned than any other part of component of being (i.e. the spirits, the Great Spirit, the air, etc.). Man's challenge and vocation is to live in harmony with the land as with other parts of being, and to live in thanksgiving, and in guardianship of it.[87] The land is shared, not only with other men, but also with the rest of being, and it is cared for in light of future generations.

Thus, the differences in worldviews between the aboriginal peoples and the immigrant Europeans are vast. One is aimed at domination and control, and the other at harmony and peace. The one uses power and force, the other wisdom and respect. This is not to say, however, that western civilization, because it is characterized by a homo-centric worldview, is altogether bad and corrupt. There are other "threads" in western civilization which point away from homo-centricity. What is rather indisputable is that western civilization, as it is predominately known today (and in the past 500 years), is homo-centric, and thus is premised on the idea of domination and control of other men and of creation itself.

The aboriginal, or eco-centric, worldview is premised on something else — on harmony and respect for all life and creation. And when these two worldviews come into contact, immediately problems arise. As Oren Lyons, an Iroquois, has put it:

> Today our people have a crisis, and this crisis began when the white man came to this continent. The problem is this: It has been the mandate of our people to look after the welfare of the land and its life. Central to this responsibility is a recognition and respect for the equality of all the elements of life on this land.[88]

This "respect" for *all* elements of life is precisely what is missing from the immigrant European's treatment of the aboriginal peoples. In a homo-centric worldview, there is no room for respect of different peoples such as the aboriginal peoples of the Americas or the lands on which they live. There is, in effect, a fundamental antagonism between the two worldviews, and this antagonism does much to explain the nature of aboriginal-immigrant European relations over the first hundred years.

Seen from the perspective of conflicting worldviews, the Penner Report, with its bureaucratic solutions such as constitutional entrenchment of the right to self-government, must be seen for what it is: hopelessly inadequate and even misleading. The problem is much more fundamental than the Penner Report, or any other analysis by government, has ever admitted. The existence of the basic difference between the "homo-centric" worldview and the "eco-centric" worldview has profound implications for any just solutions in future aboriginal-Canadian relations. One implication is, for instance, that it is no longer

that the band council has no general political authority to represent the band. Unless there are clear provisions in the Indian Act giving the council authority, the Department argues it has none. The Supreme Court, however, has recognized the band council as legally able to represent the band in dealings with the Department on the management of band assets. This is a sensible and rational acknowledgement of the band council as legally and politically representative of the band in a general way.

6. **Some progress was made on the problem of statues of limitations.**

Statutes of limitations provide that legal actions must be brought within a certain period of time or the right to go to court is lost. The limitation period in the Musqueam case was six years. The lease had been signed in 1958. The band first saw the actual lease document in 1970. They began the legal action in 1975. The federal government lawyers argued that the six year limitation period began in 1958. That would have meant that the limitation period had run out six years before the band knew what the terms of the lease were. While that seems clearly unfair, the normal rules about statues of limitations supported the federal government's position. The lawyers for the Musqueam band argued "equitable fraud". There had been no actual fraud. There was no evidence of Indian Affairs officials pocketing bribes or anything of that kind. The argument instead was that in failing to manage the land properly the Indian Affairs officials behaved "unconscionable". The Supreme Court of Canada agreed that this was "equitable fraud", with the result that the limitation period began to run when the band had knowledge of the improper management of their assets by D.I.A., that is in 1970 when they first saw the lease document. They had brought the action within six years of that time and, therefore, were within the limitation period.

While the limitations problem was solved in the Musqueam case, there are limitations problems faced for many other Indian claims which cannot be solved simply by the reasoning in the Musqueam decision. It is important to see the Musqueam decision, on this point, as a beginning, not as the final word. The Supreme Court was not sympathetic to the technical argument that the claim was barred because of the limitation period. They were willing to find a way around the limitations problem. Their attitude was sympathetic. It will be necessary in future cases to try to get the courts to go further in ruling against limitations problems.

The decision of the Supreme Court of Canada in the Musqueam case will probably encourage Indian groups to take cases to court. If we look back on the performance of the Supreme Court of Canada over the last thirty years, however, the picture was not always as promising. The modern pattern of Indian rights litigation began with the hunting and fishing cases of the 1960's, dealing with the **Migratory Birds Convention Act** and the **Fisheries Act.** In general, the decisions of the Supreme Court were terrible. They showed no understanding of the history involved and little or no sympathy for aboriginal and treaty rights. The only victory in those cases, the **White and Bob** case from British Columbia could be explained on the basis of section 88 of the **Indian Act,** not on the basis of aboriginal or treaty rights as such. On cases of immunity from provincial law the courts have been unsympathetic to Indian arguments. The end result of the decisions in **Cardinal, Four B** and **Natural Parents** is most provincial laws will apply to Indian reserve communities unless (a) they directly affect the use of reserve land, or (b) they are directly in conflict with provisions in the **Indian Act.** The weakness of the **Indian Act** has meant that provincial laws do apply.

But today the Supreme Court of Canada looks like a much more sympathetic court. That is the result, basically, of three decisions. The first was the **Calder** case, the Nishga land claims decision of 1973. The second is the **Nowegijick** decision in 1983 on Indian taxation. There Mr. Justice Dickson ruled that any ambiguity in treaties or legislation must be resolved in favour of Indians. But the strongest, most positive decision is clearly in the **Musqueam** case. This strengthening of a positive direction, I think, has some relationship to the new mandate given to the courts by the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The Supreme Court is of the view that they must now be more innovative, more creative. Chief Justice Dickson has taken this new responsibility very seriously and has moved to modernize the workings of the court. The Supreme Court of Canada, in many ways, has finally come into its own as a major institution in Canadian life. For Indians that is good news.

END

appropriate and fair to talk of the aboriginal peoples and their way of life as "primitive," as some people still do today. That kind of talk itself reflects a rather primitive and uniformed level of development. Likewise, it is no longer appropriate to regard the aboriginal peoples as merely another ethnic minority. Such an attitude is much more prevalent today, and it serves as the basis for documents such as the Penner Report, which, despite its rhetoric, does not really ascribe the aboriginal peoples anything more than ethnic status. The aboriginal peoples, to the contrary, have, and represent, a vastly different view of reality than do the descendents of Europeans that now live in Canada — a view of reality that, as mentioned above, conflicts with the prevailing "home-centric" worldview.

Consequently, it is neither right nor just for Canadians to expect the aboriginal peoples to become "Canadians." That is an expectation of assimilation. This, in turn, has two sets of implications. In the political realm, we must abandon the notion that *our* conceptions of such things as self-government, the public interest and the public order are appropriate for the aboriginal peoples. Once we realize this, then there can no longer be any serious talk of a Penner Report which seeks to impose "self-government" as merely a limited manipulation of political and economic arrangements. Likewise, there can no longer be any serious talk of things like the settlement of land claims in return for money — for the imposition of a cash settlement is just that — an imposition — one that is totally foreign to the aboriginal worldview.

Secondly, it is unjust for Canadians to assume that the aboriginal peoples should follow the prevalent Canadian mode of economic development. If we seriously consider the fundamentally conflicting worldviews of the aboriginal peoples and the immigrant Europeans (i.e. Canadian society), then we cannot in all honesty advocate that the aboriginal peoples can borrow a homo-centric economic system and still remain true to their aboriginal ways. Furthermore, it is that same homo-centric economic system that represents perhaps the greatest threat to the aboriginal way of life. The exploitation, for profit, of the land and the people on it, if continued, will mean the eventual elimination of the aboriginal peoples as aboriginal peoples. Yet it is strange that documents such as the Penner Report seem to take no recognition of these things: the authors are content to recommend measures that will only promote continued exploitation by Canadian economic interests of the aboriginal peoples and their lands. On the contrary, however, the challenge arising out of this paper is the task to find a new arrangement wherein the aboriginal peoples can be assured of the resources for an economy that can sustain them and yet still be consistent with their aboriginal worldview.[89]

Although it is somewhat easy to draw out these logical implications of the conflict between the eco-centric and homo-centric worldviews, it is much more difficult to predict the exact nature of a just relationship between the aboriginal peoples and Canadian society. To reconcile the two conflicting and antagonistic worldviews so that they can co-exist within the borders of one country is an exceedingly difficult problem.[90] Yet if we are aware of the differences between the worldviews, and avoid imposing one upon the other, then, and only then, can work begin to create a just situation. With this "consciousness,"[91] we will then be able to address ourselves to the construction of new institutions and structures which will reflect the respect between the two realities — the aboriginal and the immigrant European — that is necessary if there is ever to be a just solution to the problem.

Footnotes

[65] Overvold, "Address to the Ninth Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories," p. 5.

[66] See Robert Vachon, "Political Self-determination and Traditional Native Indian Political Culture," in *Monchanin Journal*, vol. XII, no. 3, issue 64 (July-September, 1979), pp. 39-55.

[67] For similar analyses, see Vachon, "Political Self-determination and Traditional Native Indian Political Culture," and The Hau de no sau nee Address to the Western World, *A Basic Call to Consciousness* (Geneva, Switzerland: Mohawk Nation, Autumn, 1977).

[68] Hau de no sau nee address, *A Basic Call to Consciousness*, p. 5.

[69] Ibid., p. 6.

[70] Ibid., p. 6.

[71] Genesis 1: 28.

[72] The parallel between the Jews and the aboriginal peoples is not far-fetched. As Johnansen and Maestas point out in *Wasi'chu:*

> Adolf Hitler studied American Indian policy and with twentieth-century technology and absolutist zeal set out to model his concentration camps in part on the Indian reservations of the late nineteenth century...(p. 25).

[73] In examining the various relationships of superiority/inferiority among humans, it is interesting to recall the words of William Godwin, a seventeenth century writer, in his novel *Caleb Williams* (London: Oxford University, 1970, title page):

> Amidst the woods the leopard knows his kind; The tyger preys not on the tyger brood; Man only is the common foe of man.

[74] An excellent and brief review of the history of missionary activity in the Americas is Jean-Guy Goulet's (OMI, Ph.d), "Liberation Theology and Our Missions in Canada," available through Project North 80 Sackville St., Room 306, Toronto, Ontario. M5A 3E5. An interesting example of the generous paternalism of much of the current missionary activity towards aboriginal peoples can be seen in Msgr. Roy Carey's "Canada's Native People not really understood, appreciated," The Catholic Church Extension Society, in *The New Freeman*, vol. LXXXIV, no. 9 (March 3, 1984), p. 5.

[75] See Vachon, "Political Self-determination and Traditional Native Indian Political Culture," p. 43.

[76] For a good examination of how science has been used to further not even the interests of people, but of corporate capitalism in North America, see David F. Noble, *America by Design: Science, Technology and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1977)

[77] We have coined the term "eco-centric" for lack of a better word. In reality, the eco-system (or ecology) has no centre or most important part. It is a network of interdependencies, which, when interrupted, die.

[78] See Vachon, "Political Self-determination and Traditional Native Indian Political Culture," p. 41.

[79] Ibid., p. 41.

[80] Ibid., p. 41.

[81] Ibid., p. 41.

[82] Oren Lyons, "Spirituality, Equality, and Natural Law," in Leroy Little Bear, Menno Boldt, and J. Anthony Long (eds.), *Pathways to Self-Determination: Canadian Indians and the Canadian State* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1984), p. 5.

[83] See Vachon, "Political Self-determination and Traditional Native Indian Political Culture," pp. 41, 43.

[84] Lyons, "Spirituality, Equality, and Natural Law," p. 5.

[85] See Vachon, "Political Self-determination and Traditional Native Indian Political Culture," p. 43.

[86] Young Chief, in Vine Deloria, Jr., *God is Red* (New York: Dell Publishing Co. 1978), p. 95.

[87] See Vachon, "Political Self-determination and Traditional Native Indian Political Culture," p. 41.

[88] Lyons, "Spirituality, Equality, and Natural Law," p. 6.

[89] Included in this process would be the necessity to develop new appropriate technologies consistent with the aboriginal worldview.

[90] The problems of the pollution created by a homo-centric economy alone is enough to disrupt and even destroy the aboriginal way. A case in point is the mercury poisoning at the Grassy Narrows reserve in Ontario. See George Hutchinson and Dick Wallace, *Grassy Narrows* (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1977).

[91] This "consciousness" is similar to what is called for in the Hau de no sau nee's *A Basic Call to Consciousness*, which is a devastating critique of Western civilization.

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"We Are The Victims"

Australian Aborigines and A-Bomb Tests

A Royal Commission in Brisbane headed by Justice James McClelland has recently begun a nine-month inquiry into the British atomic tests in Australia from 1952 to 1963. (See **Notes,** Fall issue, 1984). As evidence grows that tribal Aboriginals living in the central desert near the test areas were exposed to dangerous levels of radiation, recently declassified documents reveal that the British hoped to use the tests to "...discover the detailed effects of various types of explosion on equipment, stores and men with and without various types of protection." Other documents give evidence of America's secret role at Maralinga (one of the test sites used in 1956 and 1957) as the government of Prime Minister Menzies played host to an intense post-war battle for nuclear secrets between the U.S. and Britain.

In 1983, the Australian Ionising Radiation Advisory Council (A.I.R.A.C.) published a document which considerably down-played any possibility of harmful effects on Aboriginal people. Aboriginal eyewitness reports were treated as somehow "mistaken" and wide-spread reports of a "black mist" which rolled over one tribal group at Wallatinna, South Australia were seen as examples of "mythology." The report summarized its findings as follows: "the precautions taken to ensure that Aboriginals living in the area were not endangered by the nuclear tests were carefully planned and executed, and AIRAC has found no evidence that any Aboriginals were injured by the tests."

Continuing testimony at the Royal Commission has backed up the stern criticism of the AIRAC report which led to the new enquiry. In addition to the reports given by Aborigines near the blast area, statements by Australian servicemen reveal that one Aboriginal family who had wandered through a "dirty" area seven months after the Marcoo test at Maralinga sent the geiger counters crazy. Former Lance Corporal John Hutton told the commission that the young man, his wife and two children had camped in the Marcoo Crater for some days and made some tea from the water collected there which had tasted "funny". The Aboriginals wanted to trade some pelts for some better water. After the family had been given long showers and civilian clothes, they were checked with geiger counters and driven out of the area. All activity at the Maralinga test site then stopped, Hutton said. Two Hundred servicemen were brought to the parade ground where they were told by a British officer that what had just happened had not been seen by them. He explained that the Government had paid a lot of money for the tests and if news of the incident got out, "it would be bad for the tests, the money would have been wasted." The soldiers were reminded that they had signed the Secrecy Act, with a 30-year jail term or even death by firing squad for those who broke the act. The governments version of the incident differs wildly.

Evidence against any "carefully planned and executed precautions" grows like the mushrooming blasts. Serviceman Francis Grebert, 52, told the commission that he and a number of others had become ill after two large red brown clouds settled over the Flinders Naval Depot in Victoria in 1956. (Four tests were held in September and October, 1956 at Maralinga, South Australia). The clouds came over at midday and the sun was blotted out. When asked if the clouds could have been normal dust clouds, Grebert said, "No, the dust clouds were usually hazy things with not much body to them." In this case, the lights at the base had to be switched on.

One of the last armorers to leave Woomera, Mark Earner, told the commission that he had disposed of two unused bombs about 16 kilometers from Woomera. At the end of the testing at Maralinga in 1956, Earner went out into the desert with the bombs and seconded a passing tractor and driver who dug two trenches for him. Earner then burned the bombs which he said he believed were intact when placed in the trench. "A white powderey dust was left and a thick black smoke shaped like an egg was emitted." Earner was also involved in removing gun turrets from a bomber used in tests at Monte Bello island off West Australia in 1952. For three days, he and others were checked with geiger counters on the completion of their shift. The counters "went berserk." They had to shower four or five times and each day were issued with new clothes.

Up to 130 forty-four gallon drums of radioactive waste may have been dumped about 200 nautical miles off the Queensland coast. Fearing that storage of radioactive wastes in thickly populated areas might be dangerous and the disposal by road might contaminate the vehicles, a formerly secret Government paper stated: "Dumping at sea from the air is considered to be the most suitable and constant method of handling waste. Containers for liquids must burst on contact with the water." Former RAAF pilot Allan J. Spring told the Royal Commission he piloted a Lincoln bomber with instructions to dump drums containing the waste off the coast. Although he could not pinpoint the drop's location because he and the crew were lost in a bad storm, Spring said, "...I remember one drum burst when it hit the sea." The drum appeared to hold "a muddy sort of liquid." Former engine fitter Colin Bird told the commission that the Lincoln bombers used in these maneuvers could notbe cleared of radioactive readings even after six weeks of constant cleaning.

It appears that a spectrum of precautions existed. Aboriginals, only granted their citizenship rights in 1967 by national referendum, were afforded the fewest. If they happened near one of the testing stations, they were checked, showered, given clean clothes and dismissed. Yami Lester's report of old peole dying and children losing their sight after a "black mist" passed over them at Wallatinna has

been given greater veracity by servicemen's reports of dead Aborigines in the test areas. And the recent appearance in October at a remote central Australian outstation of a group of nine Pintubi people previously living with no contact with the modern world only emphasizes the ludicrous claims that all the Aborigines in the test areas were or ever could have been notified of the dangers. Even other Pintubis living in very traditional settings had no idea of the whereabouts of this small group. Given the attitudes toward Aborigines in the 1950's, one can imagine what concern was shown the people.

In her book "FIELD OF THUNDER, the Maralinga Story," Judy Wilks points out that 'the boffins', as the Aussies called the British, never seemed to go in as near to ground zero after the blast as the Australians had to. They were also much more meticulous about wearing their 'goon suits' (protective clothing) and using tongs. The Aussies didn't bother much about either. One mechanic fiddled around with some cars in a compound, amazed by the sandblasting effect the blasts had had on the paintwork. After finding out that the cars were in the compound because they were "hot," he was put into the hospital where blood tests were done. "Whatever these tests revealed, he'll never find out, because Maralinga is recorded as a complete blank on his medical record. Today he suffers from a low white blood celll count, and leukemia is suspected."

British appealed to the U.S. for an American test range in mid 1951. But as the Americans stalled, the British turned to their allies down under. The Menzies government took only three days to say yes, and the first test off Monte Bello went ahead on October 3, 1952. When the British asked for a land base for their next tests, Menzies positive reply was even more speedy for he did not want to keep Churchill waiting.

This was the Cold War era, a time when the US was paranoid about sharing its own nuclear secrets, even with its allies, but desperate to learn what other nuclear powers were up to. Washington requested permission to send two B-29 bombers and two support planes to witness the Totem blasts set for October 1953. Having completely obliterated an island in Eniwetok atoll less than a year earlier (November 1952) with their first experimental hydrogen weapon, the Americans were keen to discover if their "ally" possessed the same capabilities. Already frustrated that the US had not shared cloud samples from the Monte Bello tests as agreed, the British found that "Washington embassy urge that if we do not meet this request for facilities (to land in Australia) we shall lose U.S. good will to no purpose, since the Americans intend to take the cloud sample anyway." The US request was granted, "in return for a firm assurance that we (Britain) will be supplied with cloud samples of our own atomic explosion."

The task of following the cloud from the **Totem One** blast across northeastern Australia where it appeared headed fell to six Australian Lincoln aircraft and the two American B-29's. The Australians reported the big cloud, still intact, drifting toward Darwin. The Americans maintained that the cloud had broken into small patches, which were moving toward Brisbane. To reconcile the difference, another Lincolln was dispatched. They claimed to have located the cloud, but as a report conceded, "It transpired that the aircraft had beome lost." Nearly out of fuel, the Lincoln landed at Williamstown, near Newcastle, New South Wales. The crew flew back to Richmond in another plane, returning the following day with a US Air Force sargeant to retrieve the plane. As the American pointed his geiger counter at the plane, all he could say was "Oh, shit...oh, shit." he told the Australian crew, "That bloody machine is hot. I'm not going anywhere near it." He caught the train instead.

Samples of radioactive dust collected by the Americans were sent to Guam for analysis, but they were so active that the Guam equipment could not handle them and they were flown on to Washington. For their part, the American air crews had no doubt about the significance of the Totem One blasts. They stated that the radioactivity was the most intense they had ever encountered. In 1964, a carload of American tourists drove into Maralinga before being stopped by security. They were quickly removed from the village. The Americans told the British little about the results of their test analyses. The British told the Autralians even less. And nobody said anything to the Aborigines.

Documents buried in British and Australian archives marked "Closed till 1999" set out the terms of Britain's use of Maralinga after 1956. The memorandum was drawn up following concerns over the lack of safety conditions at Monte Bello and Emu. It allowed Britain to use Maralinga as a proving ground for nuclear weapons rent free and Britain agreed to be responsible "for undertaking all practicable measures...to ensure that any test carried out there do not cause injury or damage." This would apply to Aboriginal groups who through their counsel, Geoff Eames, have applied to the Federal Government for about $400,000 to conduct research vital to their case before the commission. They would like to assemble a team to conduct extensive interviews among blacks and whites who suffered contamination from the Monte Bello tests in West Autralia. No such survey has ever been done of the Monte Bello tests.

Questions have arisen concerning the appointments of one of the commission's members, Jill Fitch, who was also a member of AIRAC. Britain at the time of this writing had not sent a representative to the commission and many of the lawyers feel that the real story of the tests and the contamination they caused is likely to be found in documents still locked away in British archives. Tony Peer, an active member of the House of Lords in Britain has agreed to assist in helping release documents which would aid the Aboriginal case.

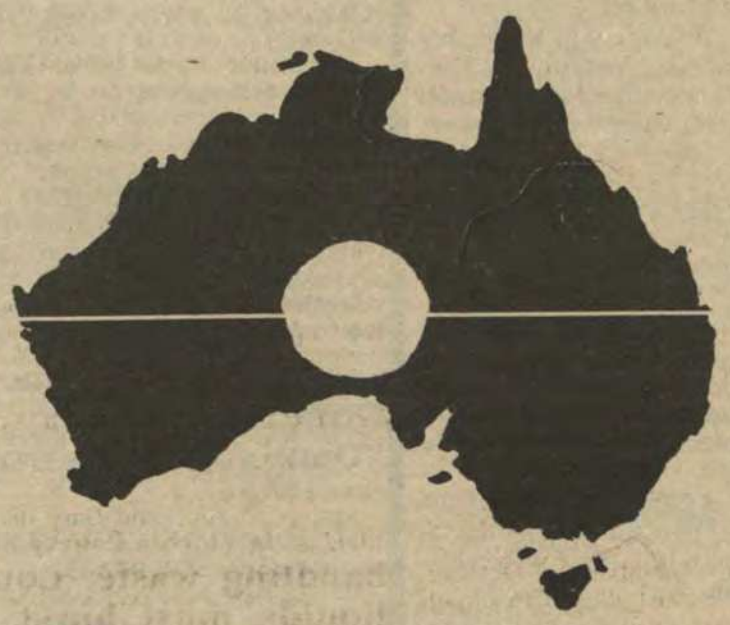
The Pitjantjatjara people still need help from organizations and individuals that can assist with advice, information, resources and funds. If you or your organization can assist, please contact:

Pitjantjatjara Council
P.O. Box 2189
Alice Springs, NT 5750
Australia

One Ocean, One Earth, One Creation

Through all these issues, the central issue of the land can not be forgotten. Pitjantjatjara Aboriginals suffered their removal from tribal lands for the tests at Maralinga, much as the Kokatha people were removed for the American rocket base at Woomera. Recent claims by these groups for land rights in their tribal areas were then questioned because the people had not continously occupied the regions. While the world sits paused at the edge of nuclear fear, the Mcclelland commission hears the case of Aboriginal blast victims. The waste has been dumped, the people blinded, poisoned, and killed. The "allies" have contaminated their own allies, revealing the callous inhumanity of the philosophy that the earth is somehow a sacrifice area, a waste area, in the name of science and money. To the Europeans, central Australia is known as the "dead heart." To the Aboriginal people, it is the living center. Russell Means and others have pointed out that the nuclear cycle begins on tribal land-in the "waste areas" to which the indigenous people were removed. The testing of nuclear weapons in these same waste areas brings the cycle full terrible circle — tribal land. Physics tells us that a drop of ink dropped into a beaker of water will spread until it is distributed equally throughout each molecule of water. One ocean. One earth. One creation.

John Stokes



Peltier Files Religious Lawsuit

[A.N.I.T] 1/25/85—Springfield, Missouri

In snow and record-breaking cold temperatures, supporters of American Indian leader Leonard Peltier staged a public prayer vigil in support of his announcement that he would file a lawsuit for violation of his religious rights. The vigil, which was accompanied by a press conference, was attended by nearly 3 dozen persons despite below-zero temperatures and bitter wind.

Peltier is joined in the lawsuit by Robert "Standing Deer" Wilson and Albert Garza; Wilson is also a traditional Indian, Garza a member of the Jewish faith.

In charges naming Norman Carlson, Director of The United States Bureau of Prisons, and Joseph Petrovsky, Warden of the Medical Center for federal prisoners at Springfield, the suit charges that the three men are prevented from practicing their religion; are discriminated against "as compared to prisoners of the Christian Faith"; and are being held in solitary confinement without cause and for a cruel and unusual length of time.

According to attorney Margaret Gold, who represents the three in the suit, Peltier and Wilson are not allowed possession of religious objects such as feathers, sage and sweetgrass which are necessary to the practice of their religion; nor are they permitted to pray together with other Indian prisoners. They are allowed only limited access to their spiritual counsellors, even though christian prisoners are allowed frequent contact, services and meeting with priests and ministers.

The three men were originally placed at the Medical Center after a 43-day fast last spring endangered their lives. The Fast was to protest conditions at Marion Federal Penintentiary where they charged there were similar violations of the Native American Religious Freedom Act of 1978. The case attracted international attention after an official protest by the Russian government to the United States government compared Peltier's case with that of Russian dissident Andrei Sakharov.

The situation at the Medical Center became tense this week when the warden refused permission for Archie Fire Lame Deer to enter the facility to conduct religious services. Previously, Lame Deer had been told he could conduct a traditional Sweat Lodge ceremony. Suddenly, permission was withdrawn and no reason was given by the Administration for the sudden change. Following the public prayer vigil, however, Lame Deer was allowed permission to enter the institution, but permission was not forthcoming to conduct a Sweat Lodge Ceremony.

Margaret Gold stated at a press conference accompanying the prayer vigil that Warden Petrovsky had told her, if Peltier persisted in filing the lawsuit, he would be transfered back to Marion. "He (Petrovsky) told me that if my clients continued their suit, encouraged public demonstrations and talked to the press, he would send them back to Marion at once," she stated. Marion is said to be the worst prison in the Federal system in terms of brutality toward prisoners.

Peltier's response was; "File the suit. My life has no meaning without my religion anyway. If I am sent back to Marion I will begin my Fast again and this time I won't stop until they ram the tubes down my throat." The reference is to forced feeding which was ordered by Federal courts for the three prisoners last spring. Fearing that the procedure would be used as a cover-up for an assassination attempt Peltier began eating "only enough to sustain life."

Warden Petrovsky declined to be interviewed by the press and refused to issue a statement. "I don't have to explain my actions to the public," he told one reporter. "Don't worry about my side of things, I don't need a break from the press," he stated.

The suit, which was expected to be filed this week, seeks a temporary injunction forbidding the transfer of the inmates and a jury trial for the violations of religious freedom.

—Trisba Stanton

[A.N.I.T.—Akwesasne Notes/Indian Time]

Above:
Prayer Vigil for Leonard Peltier in Spingfield, Missouri
photo credit: Trisba Stanton

Right:
Dennis, KaMook Banks and Family
photo uncredited, appeared in OKC Camp Crier from— People Magazine

Leonard Peltier
-Bannon

Trial Set For Dino and Gary Butler

NEWPORT, OR: A May 13 trial date has been set for Darelle (Dino) Butler and Gary Butler who face charges of murder, attempted murder and burglary in Lincoln County, Oregon. The charges stem from a January 1981 incident in which an alleged grave-robber was killed, and his 19 year old son injured, at their home in Toledo, Oregon.

The Butlers, represented by court-appointed Portland attorneys Ray Thomas and Pat Birmingham, New York attorney William Kunstler, and Bruce Ellison of South Dakota, had "not guilty" pleas entered in their behalf, although Dino declined to enter a plea, citing the acts of genocide against his people which have caused them to be prisoners of war. Dino has said he will offer proof of widespread grave-robbing and selling of artifacts in Oregon prior to the murder.

The Butler suppor group, **The Society of the People Struggling to be Free,** believes that outspoken opposition to grave lootng practices led to Dino and Gary being targeted for the murder. Community work has begun, and a petition in support of strengthening Oregon's present law relating to grave-robbing from a misdemeanor offense to a felony offense, is being circulated. Any information or suggestions from others involved in similar struggles is welcomed. The Society is particularly interested in hearing from Oregon groups and individuals so that efforts may be coordinated. The Society may be contacted at **P.O. Box 1178, Newport, Oregon 97365.**

The Society would also greatly appreciate donations for the defense fund which may be sent to the same address.

Letters to Dino and Gary may be addressed to them at the **Lincoln County Jail, 225 W. Olive St., Newport, OR 97365.**

Grace Castle, P.O. Box 307, Siletz, OR 97380,
Ph: 444-2439 (503).

Dennis Banks

Transferred to Springfield, S.D.

(Vol.4, DBSC Update, 1/18/85)

Early Thursday morning, 1/17/85, Dennis Banks was transferred from the South Dakota State Penintentiary in Sioux Falls, S.D. to the Springfield Correctional Facility (SCF), a minimum security facility in Springfield, South Dakota. (Springfield is 30-40 SSW of Sioux Falls, so Dennis and KaMook are still 350 miles apart.)

In a telephone conversation I had with Dennis today, he said that he will begin taking home-building courses (plumbing, electrical and carpentry) on Feb. 4, 1985. Dennis intends to build a house for his wife Kamook and their children upon his release from prison.

Dennis also indicated that he will continue to coach athletics and will be heavily involved in the construction and maintenance of a Sweat Lodge so that Native Americans may worship in their traditional manner.

Both Dennis and Kamook have new addresses and I urge you to write to either or both of them. May I remind you of the need for financial support for Dennis's wife KaMook and their four children. Even small donations are of great help when many give to this remarkable family. I thank you for your kindness and generosity. —Mark Banks

Dennis Banks
S.C.F./POB 369
Crawford Hall,
Room 211E
Springfield, S.D.
57062

Kamook Banks
RT 5, Box 1080C
Rapid City, S.D.
57701

Dennis Banks Support Committee
278 West 4th St., NY, NY 10014
Mark Banks-Director (212) 929-10014

POSITION STATEMENT on The Report and Recommendations to the President of the Presidential Commission on Reservation Economies

by Phillip Martin, Chief
Mississippi Band of Choctaws
Rt 7, Box 21, Philadelphia, MS 39350
(601) 656-5251

The Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians was proud to host the first hearings held by the Presidential Commission on Reservation Economies in December of 1983. We were honored by the Commission's site choice, which Co-Chairman Swimmer told us had come about because the Commission wanted to begin it's work by examining a success, rather than proceeding directly toward analysis of the "problems". The visit included a tour of our reservation's industrial plants, managed by our tribal enterprises, which have created nearly 1,000 jobs over the past five years, and extensive testimony from tribal and local officials. Co-Chairman Swimmer told us, "I am pleased to say that this is one of the finest tribal operations I have seen as a tribal leader in my area. I have certainly seen a tremendous benefit to the economy of Philadelphia and the surrounding area as a result of the work of the Mississippi Choctaws."

After reviewing the Commission's report to the President, we are unsure just how much was really learned from this visit to a so-called "successful" reservation. Portions of the report's analysis are concise and perceptive; **most demonstrate a gross misinterpretation, based upon lack of understanding and faulty assumptions and on political philosophy rather than a success analysis. It doesn't make much sense to study failures if your aim is success.**

Of the Commission's 37 recommendations (nearly half of which would involve Congressional action), 2/3rds are constructive, terse recommendations on specific actions which should be taken to adjust legislation, change regulations, and the like. These superior recommendations seem to group themselves toward the end of the list of recommendations.

We find 8 of the recommendations to be unrealistic in function, cost or neccessity, mostly those calling for establishment of new agencies or institutions. These recommendations could end up being costly and in conflict with the current Administration's plans for reductions in the number and size of administrative agencies.

5 of the recommendations we believe to be counter to tribal sovereignty and threatening to the progress made since the 1960's by tribal governments for Indian people.

The recommendations with which we take issue are those which seem to be less specific, those which hinge more on **economic philosophy.** The relationship between the federal government and tribes, based upon the Congress' third enumerated power in Article I, section 8, of the Constitution, is in a sense economic because it involves commerce; but it is more essentially political. The same Constitution which establishes the special relationship with the Indian tribes pointedly does NOT establish any economic system for this country, or, for that matter, for the states or the Indian tribes. **The partial autonomy of both the states and the Indian tribes is implicit in the Constitution, and must extend to matters of economic regulation and control. In short, we have a political relationship, government-to-government, which should preclude the imposition of economic systems by the larger on the smaller.**

The Commission was in error when it decided to "proceed upon the assumption that Indian reservation economies were an integral part of the national economy and not distinctly separate third world economies." Indian economies are different from the national economy not only quantitively but in kind. Chief Justice Marshall's characterization of "domestic dependent nations...in a state of pupilage" and a century of guardian/ward relationship have prevented Indian economies from developing as an "integral part" of the nation's economy. Indeed, even the Commission comments note in the same paragraph "that no Indian tribe or nation can simply import an Industrial Revolution from without, unpack it like a piece of machinery, and then set it in motion." The use of the term "without" itself highlights a lack of connection with the national economy. **Were Indian reservations an integral part of the national economy, would the unemployment rate be over 40 per cent (according to the BIA statistics)?**

The third world model is reinforced as well by the factors of language and culture, the staff-developed discussion of "Cultural Dissonance" in Part III of the report being a perceptive analysis of the latter factor. The discussion states, in part: **"Values favoring the conservation of resources and equality in the distribution of tribal income are noteworthy in the Indian economic development literature,"** an observation which should have suggested to the Commission that pure entrepreneurialism would not have outstanding prospects for success on the reservation. Although used in the context of land ownership only, the Commission cites the Meriam Report's finding that the government was in error having assumed "that some magic in individual ownership of property would in itself prove an educational, civilizing factor...unfortunately, this policy has for the most part operated in the opposite direction."

We find at this time in our progress some hope that a few individuals might be able to handle ownership of stocks and bonds but the Indian masses have little understanding of the market economy. The result could easily be the same as that brought about by the policy of individual land ownership. Essentially, we believe the report does not take into sufficient consideration "Indianness", in which some attitudes deriving from culture must be taken into consideration, and the culture itself respected.

The report also treats diverse cultures homogeneously, generalizing too much. The President's Indian Policy Statement, which the Commission said "set the[ir] parameters", "recognizes the diversity of the tribes and the right of each to set its own priorities and goals, and to proceed at its own pace." To a large extent, the Commission has chosen not to delve into this diversity.

It chose also not to examine successes in its report. A recent Public Broadcasting Service production, shown widely throughout the United States, examined such successes at Mescalero Apache, Quinalt, White Mountain Apache, Seminole, Ak Chin, Gila River, Metlakatla, Warm Springs, Fort Hall, Laguna, Navajo, and Mississippi Choctaw. The specific successes achieved on our reservation have also recently been covered in in the **Reader's Digest**. There must be some underlying success factors that the Commission could have examined. They erred in not examining the commonality of success, always, it seems, based on leadership, the ability to raise capital, and the ability of the labor force--though each of the tribes did have its own unique overall formula for success.

Leadership seems indeed to be the critical element. Many tribes are in a situation of long-standing financial crisis. Similar, though more short-term, crises once faced New York City and the Chrysler Corporation. Though their bail-out involved the infusion of federal dollars, it was the local leadership that solved the problem, and also provided accountability for the federal dollars. Tribes as well need the infusion of federal dollars, but they also need encouragement for the development of local leadership to put those dollars to good use.

Large numbers of people in Indian Country are upset by what they see as unfair criticism of tribal government by the Commission. We believe that the findings of the Commission are only partially correct. They have selectively identified problems existing on single reservations, and there is a different mix on each. We do object to the Commission's skewing the results somewhat on the pie chart (Part II, page 17) by separating the BIA from the rest of the federal government, leaving the impression that the largest percentage of obstacles to Indian reservation economic development are "tribal", rather than federal. In addition, the 34.8 per cent of obstacles attributed to tribes (807 of 2,320 instances) are identified only by occurance rather than causation. **The ultimate origin of many of these obstacles was in reality federal rather than tribal. Inadequate business management and inadequate infratsructure,** to cite two examples, **are actually closely tied to the trust responsibility and result from past federal failures** (in the years before self-determination) **to act.** In the area of cultural dissonance as a tribal obstacle, of course, there is the question of **who is dissonant to whom.**

The recommendations we find unrealistic in terms of function, cost, or necessity are recommendations **5 and 7**, on the creation of the Indian Trust Services Office and the involvement of BLM; **11**, on the creation of the National Commission on Indian Business Development; **19**, on the development of independent Indian Venture Capital Fund(s); **20**, on privatization of the Indian Finance Act; **26**, on the creation of Business Development Centers; **28**, on the creation of Business Development Corporations; and **32**, on the privatization of job training activities.

The report does not make clear how establishment of the Indian Trust Services Office could be implemented or where exactly in the federal system it would be loacted. How would "continued government operation of programs and basic services where tribes do not wish to participate in [BIA Snyder Act] block grants" be carried out, and where? **We attempted to construct an organizational structure (attached) based on the Commission's report, but we were not entirely successful in making sense out of the situation.**

We are leery of the proposed **National Commission on Indian Business Development** for 2 reasons. First, the structure of the instituion is very similar to that of the **National Council on Indian Opportunity**, which turned out to be little more than an advisory committee. Secondly, and conversely, the report seems to **imply a concentration of power in the proposed Commission**, especially by tying it to a recommendation for a uniform application procedure for loans and grants across federal agencies and associating it with reforming the bureaucracy. We object not to "business development" powers for the proposed Commission, but feel that it **should not involve itself in purely governmental or public services matters.** Despite the emphasis on reform, we see little likelihood of implementation of a uniform application procedure when the programs would remain administered by a number of different cabinet secretaries.

The proposals for the Indian Venture Capital Fund, privatization of the Indian Finance Act, Business Development Centers, and Business Development Corporations would **significantly increase economic activity and enhance capitalization--and would appear to have the potential to significantly enrich off-reservation non-Indians. This could place tribes at the mercy of those holding purse strings, and BIA paternalism replaced with private sector paternalism. A worst case scenario is always the 100 percent non-Indian business in the middle of a reservation.**

The Commission in its drive to delete politics from economics has come up with the idea of independent Indian Business Development Corporations, which would administer economic development dollars in place of the tribal governments. **We believe that these corporations could become as political as the tribal governments, if not more so. In much of Indian Country, faction[alism] increases as the money increases.**

Essentially, economic development cannot take place on a large scale in Indian Country unless there are incentives in it both for tribes and for the private sector. The Commission has suggested a few incentives for the private sector in general, **but generally its recommendations would benefit only the financial institutions,** leaving manufacturing, assembly, construction, and service industries with little reason for reservation location. Reservations' most commonly cited advantage is an absence of property tax; in fact, **most labor intensive industries are exempted from paying property tax anyway** through various state statutes. Advantages for location on a reservation should be written into the federal income tax code.

The 5 recommendations with which we find the most problems concern tribal sovereignty and the nature of the economic activity urged by the Commission.

The proposal to carry out referenda to determine applicability of tribal or state taxation would subordinate tribal government sovereignty to the popular mandate of the total population of the reservation--both Indian and non-Indian--notwithstanding that the Commisssion found on a multitude of reservations the non-Indian population significantly outnumbered the tribal members collectively governed by the tribal government. Although our tribe does not have this problem of non-Indian residents, it would seem to us a **relocation program for the non-Indians** might be a better solution. It was the federal government that got those tribes onto this problem; and the federal government seems not to hesitate overly in the relocation of Hopis and Navajos.

The proposal to provide legislation for appellate review of tribal court decisions to the federal court system in those cases where constitutional or statutory rights are involved does not and cannot address the unfortunate experience of tribal governments prior to the Supreme Court's ruling in *Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez, 436 U.S. 49 (1978)* when numerous tribal governments were largely bankrupted in defending against civil law suits. Commission representatives who spoke to us in Nashville December 5, have argued that this recommendation would strengthen tribal governments; but it can only be regarded so if the policy analysis made by the Supreme Court in the *Martinez* case is dismissed as empty verbiage.

The proposal that tribal governments **limit their authroity to invoke the defense of sovereign immunity from suit to those cases involving trust assets or trust income is curious.** Neither the frequency model on the obstacles, nor the Rensselaerville Institute survey found sovereign immunity to be much of a problem. The sovereign immunity defense was available to non-Indian governments--both state and federal--in their developmental years, and no less should be accorded Indian tribal governments. **The Commission beleives such a limitation would generate accelerated business development. We contend that the principal business generated would be in the form of legal fees for defense lawyers representing tribes on court claims or in the negotiation of unconscionable settlements with corporations having legal resources otherwise capable of overwhelming those the tribe can afford for litigation.**

The **3rd and 14th** recommendations go to the heart of the Commission's **"message" to the tribes--the absolute separation of business and tribal government,** because, among other reasons "many tribal governments decapitalize their businesses by redirecting retained earnings toward support of tribal government..." The Commission notes that "merely separating the corporate functions of tribal enterprises from interference by tribal government and employing competant management will not achieve a privatization property ownership, nor individual experience." The Commission adds that tribal enterprises focus on employment rather than profits.

Our experience on the Choctaw reservation leads us to conclusions quite the opposite of those of the Commission concerning the nature of tribal enterprises. On our reservation, none of the industrial progress which has been made would have been possible **without** the tribal government. The tribal government as both the voice of and the leadership of the tribe is both a barometer of the feelings of tribal members and an innovator in encouraging behavorial change. Our tribal government is the one place where tribal-wide activities happen, and must be the focus of those activities, economic or otherwise. Of course some enterprise earnings go to the support of the tribal government--other governments call these **"taxes"**. Of course there is an emphasis on employment rather than profits--when we on our reservation were dealing with unemployment rates of upwards of **60 to 75 per cent**, we had to place an emphasis on employment, if only to reduce the levels of welfare payments. "Privatized" enterprises with stockholders currently need an environment inhabited by substantial numbers of middle class workers and investors. **There is no middle class on the Mississippi Choctaw reservation.**

These recommendations, the most general and philosophical, are also the **most political**, in the sense of the platforms of the national political parties. Though the report chides tribal councils for "politicizing executive administration" of tribal governments, it appears to us hat there is quite a bit of **partisan sentiment in the report itself. At a time in the national economy when the interconnections between the 'private'and 'public' sectors are so numerous it is arguable there is little distinction between the two, the Commission has seen fit to endorse a view of rugged individualism and "sector segregation" reminiscent of the turn of the century. In a sort of economic creationism, the Commission appears to be advocating a developmental path for tribes identical to the one the dominant economy had to take.** Is there really a need to go back to square one?

The Renssaelerville Institute survey found that "not only is **entrepreneurial** capacity not nurtured" on reservations, but that "it may be **undervalued**." We agree with the statement, the causation for which may be some of the "cultural dissonance" discussed by the Commission's staff. But there is an additional cause, a cause which points up the existance of a large gap in the report.

Continue page 15

Indians Resist Shift In Economic Goals Urged by U.S. Panel

RENO, Jan. 11 — Indian tribal leaders have voiced strong opposition to proposals from a Presidential panel to direct economic development efforts on reservations away from social goals and toward private ownership and the profit motive.

But the proposals were accepted by some Indians as a basis for further discussion of their relationship with the Federal Government.

At a meeting that ended here Friday, the National Tribal Chairmen's Association voted 84 to 18 to reject 36 recommendations presented to President Reagan on Nov. 30 by the Presidential Commission on Indian Reservation Economies.

The recommendations also included abolishing the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which represents Indian interests in Washington, and waiving the tribes' immunity from lawsuits on some issues.

The panel also proposed subordinating tribal courts to the Federal judiciary on questions involving interpretation of law and the United States Constitution; tribal courts, which the commission said were sometimes tainted by tribal politics, now have the final say on these questions.

In its economic proposals, the panel emphasized promoting private ownership of reservation businesses and outside investment in them. Tribes operate businesses such as resorts, cattle ranches, farms and mines, which are often the major sources of employment for members on the reservations.

The panel recommended assigning the Bureau of Indian Affair's numerous programs for welfare, education and economic development to other Federal departments and replacing the bureau with an Indian Trust Services Administration. The new agency's principal purpose would be to protect Indian resources such as oil, gas, minerals, timber, water and agricultural land.

The White House has not formally commented on the commission's findings. The tribal chairmen meeting here have asked Congress to hold hearings on the report and to hear the tribe's responses.

Status May Be In Jeopardy

The tribal chairmen said in a statement that the proposals, if carried out, **"would lead to a termination of the special status of Indian tribes and seriously affect their sovereignty and jurisdiction over their reservation lands."**

Many leaders among the nation's 1.5 million Indians say they are disturbed by the commission's emphasis on altering the communal philosophy behind tribal enterprises.

The panel, however, criticized the emphasis on tribal control, shared benefits and maximum employment, rather than on profit from businesses on the reservations. It urged that this approach be replaced with an ideal of private ownership and profit-oriented management.

The panel said the current tribal practices had made the nation's Indians dependent on more than $2.5 billion in Federal aid annually without bringing them closer to economic self-sufficiency.

'Radical Break' With Dependency

"Economic development without subsidy, can be successfully put together only within a new social and economic setting which entails a radical break with the past dependency on the Federal government", the panel said.

Elmer Savilla, executive director of the tribal association, said this approach misinterpreted Indian values.

"The non-Indian approach is, you go into business with one motive, which is the profit motive," he said in an interview. **"The Indian way is to go into business to provide employment for as many tribal members as you can. So we may put more people on the payroll than non-Indians would, because the business has a different purpose for us."**

On the Pyramid Lake Paiute Indian Reservation, 30 miles north of here, Joe Ely, a tribal council member who testified before the panel last year, echoed the views of many Indians that the effect of the panel's recommendations would be to strip Indians of their vast holdings in energy resources, precious metals and water rights.

"The thing is that the Federal government wants to gain control of tribal resources," Ely said, **"and the way they're going to do it is to bring in these outside investors the commission's talking about, which is a pretty clandestine way of going about it."**

18 of the 102 tribal leaders who attended the meeting voted against the blanket rejection of the commission's report, and some Indian groups, notably those engaged in economic development, agreed that the report at least formed the basis for a discussion on a new relationship with the Federal government.

"I don't think we should just say no to everything and walk away," said Jim Steele, vice chairman of the Flathead tribe in western Montana, who voted against the rejecting the proposals. "There are things in the report that we're already doing, like reducing interference in businesses by the tribal council, and when we just say no to everything, it just gives them an excuse to go ahead and ignore us."

Mr. Steele echoed the opposition of many of the other Indians to the panel's recommendation that the tribes agree to waive their immunity, as sovereign nations, from lawsuit. It is argued that such a waiver may occasionally be needed to give outside investors recourse to the courts in case of disputes over their dealings on Indian lands.

N.Y. Times—by Iver Peterson 1/13/85

Indian Country Response to Report Much Harsher

Native Press are less inclined to treat the story in the "balanced" way the NY Times does, since we have everything at stake and Indian Country knows well the process of Studies , (non) Consultations, Reports, Programs. The attitude of Washington lifer-bureaucrats towards it's "wards" is still there; after reading all the articles, and include Vine Deloria's **The Future Of Indians** page 22-23, and you will find some things never change, whether it's 10 years or 100 years. With the Feds inclined to Get Out of The Indian Business, all those lifers, lawyers and appointees will be needing new ways of Staying in Business, so it's only natural for them to turn us over to 'Business'.

The Lakota Times 12/12/84 & 1/16/85, uses words like, *Tribal Leaders Blast...Commission, Tribes Vote to Reject Report*, quoting Elmer Savilla as saying the report is "dangerous"--"the final Report is the most dangerous paper on Indian policy to be written in many a decade"; it's also been termed "just another commission report".

These reps of the National Tribal Chairman's Association (defintely not a radical group) voice concern over the lack of consultation with all manner of formal and informal Indian groups. More concern is raised over the abolishment of the BIA (to be replaced by ITSA and Business Development agencies), saying the BIA should be reformed, improved, restructured, but not eliminated.

Lakota Times also quotes Rupert Costo (former editor of Wassaja) who derides Commission members as non-Reservation Indians willing to re-shape the whole Indian Policy from scratch, and as Washington political appointees "looking out for number one."

What is obvious is the connections of 4-5 members of the Indian Commissioners to Energy Corporations, who stand to benefit most from gung-ho Indian Resource Development.

And where's **C.E.R.T.** whether you agree with them or not, an organization like them should figure in development somewhere, but nothing has appeared, good or bad, I don't know.

Hunkering Down:

False Values

GPO Bookstores (202-783-3238); "Report and Recommendations to the President of the United States"; Superintendent Document Stock no. 040-000-00482-3; payment to Superintendent of Documents. Public Information: Presidential Commission on Indian Reservation Economies; 1717 H St., NW, Suite 765; Washington DC 20006; (202-653-2436).

You read the NY Times article, and that should give you the Status Quo attitude of perceptions of Indian Country; reading between the lines it says to me--Reagan's Team is trying to push Indians into economic development on the terms of the pro-development, pro-profit right-wing regime, while ignoring Indian concerns, needs and values; there is good with the bad. Indians should stop feeding at the Federal teat and start the business of 'business', but we agree you have legitimate concerns and you must work them out with the Reagan team and the more responsive Congress; still, a little bad won't hurt if you get alot of good out of it.

Their buffer zones have no relation at all to reality in Indian Country, where our buffers are often limited to a few square miles, unending pollution from neighbors, the fire in the stove, and food in cupboard; when we compromise, there often is little room left to manuver. Their "long view" (the gov't, the experts, the status quo) also has no relationship to our "long view", except to being bass-ackwards. Their "long view" will remove our national integrity to create municipal enterprise zones dependent on outside investment, profit-motive, and courts that they consider "untainted by (euroamerican-tribal-social) politics", yet in a growing conservative movement, how untainted will these avenues remain, with regime approved appointments, public backlash pressure, media ineptitude or neglect that is aroused from slumber and consumerism to act on current trends and outright manipulation.

Indian Trust to be Under Dep't of Energy

Witness the 'New Team' that Reagan ends up with, since he does not handle those trivial matters, he was among the last to know, as his team-players vacated to more lucrative offices, to be replaced by a New Team of assistants and deputies. Take Hodell from Interior, now in Energy, Hodell was Watt's Deputy with clone-like values and attitudes, now understand that Interior may vanish as a Department, to be absorbed into the Department of Energy, and if the BIA is abolished to be replaced by this "Indian Trust Services Administration" (ITSA) it will be under the Department of ENERGY. From the War Dep't, to Interior, under Watt, to Energy, under a new neo-Watt...things may change, but they stay the same. Coyote would say: "It's all true, it's all not true."

In all the years of management by the various bureaus, they managed to manage away Indian land, rights, culture, as well as water, timber, minerals, and various resources when other Management agencies needed to manage somemore manageable material for their Mines, Lands to Reclamate, turn into Public Wilderness, or an Army Corps of Engineers mega-buck dam or water-mining project. Now, with ENERGY about to absorb us all, the predictions of that movie **Four Corners: A National Sacrifice Area,** appears imminent. Indian Country will turn into an uninhabitable Energy Resource Area, where all living creatures must sacrifice for the greater good of the Energy Em-

We have received letters from Germany and other places in Europe asking for help in identifying a person who calls himself Happy Horse and claims to be of the Apache Nation.

It seems that this person is going around Europe telling people he knows "who are real Indians and who are not." We have been told that he speaks against member of the Akwesasne Freedom School. He also claims to know that "Akwesasne Notes is just a commercial enterprise", and speaks against traditional people who visit Germany.

The most recent letter from Germany tells us that Happy Horse has been printing and selling our Akwesasne Notes posters, claiming he holds the copyrights to do so.

We do not wish to condemn anyone, but would like to know who this person is and what is the truth behind the letters we receive.

If any of you we are sending this letter to know this person, we'd appreciate it if you showed him a copy of this letter. We invite him to respond and tell us the true purpose of what he is doing, or not doing.

AKWESASNE NOTES

Letters from supporters in Europe, alert us to a man named MICHAEL DAVIES, HAPPY HORSE, claiming to be a representative for the LPDC and AIM. **THIS IS NOT TRUE,** he is **NOT** a representative. A German newspaper states he is working for the drug department of the police and he only claims to be Native American to gain contact with people. He is allegedly blackmailing German women, and in one case tried to rape a woman. He is selling posters, books, etc. saying it is on behalf of Native Americans, without sending one cent to a native project.

Many German editors have printed articles revealing **MICHAEL DAVIES** misrepresentation of both Leonard and AIM. Davis is now terrorizing these people, saying he will indict them as he has good lawyers in Nuremburg. These lawyers mailed a letter to a Peltier supporter stating that he had better — put an end to his investigations concerning Davies.

Davies is threatening and intimidating supporters of Native Americans saying he will indict all these people and bring every case before a lawyer. He is spreading untrue rumors, destroying all that supporters have built up with years of solidarity work (whether for Leonard or any other Native American organization). This man is a serious danger. People who don't know about him still believe his words. He may be an agent hired to destroy the European support of Indian organizations.

Germany: Michael Davis, Happy Horse

We ask all of you to mobilize your efforts and let it be known that **MICHAEL DAVIES** is **NOT** acting on behalf of the LPDC or AIM. We do not want this man sabotaging our combined efforts. Please help us by sending any information on Davies as soon as possible to:

Steffi Ruhman, 1071 Berlin, Islandische St. 6 G.D.R., LPDC, 2524 16th Ave. S, Seattle, WA 98144.

CRAZY HORSE SPIRIT

Source: Crazy Horse Spirit, Jan. 1985/American Indian Community House New York City.

False Values...

pire, in return we get a cycle of boom-time jobs (and usual associated 'problems' that our new found wealth will attempt to solve, but won't, so instead of them throwing money at 'our problems', we will be throwing our 'profits' at those same and probably worsened 'problems') ...so much for their "long view".

You all know that this $2.5 billion Indian aid balloon floating around doesn't mean anything; does it include the salaries of non-indian lifer apparatchiks, resident non-indian experts, teachers, counsellors and lawyers; does it include corporate Indian perks; does it enrich Indian dynasties or go to grassroots people who need woodstoves, roto-tillers, common vehicles and tools? If all we skins got togther and asked for our 'annual $2,000' and instead invested in share--ventures (Indian style), we could do away with the jobs of those who seek Washington implants and put them to work on the Reservation Book Accounts where they are needed, connecting The People with Services, not in connecting themselves to transient power from right or left wing regimes.

The 1972 BIA Takeover resulted in **The 20 Points** but those Points never entered into the public consiousness; you could find skins who agreed with Watt (the Underdog) that the dependence must end--of course Watt was an unrelenting apologist for development and give-aways to business; now this Commission is supposed to be telling us New Things, New Programs, New Wrinkles on the Economic Map...but we skins know already what is to happen, we've heard it all, now they spew it back in lawyer-talk and supply-side rhetoric, asking us to Trust them to create this new Trust Administration.

If Indians go pro-development blindly, they will create jobs that are totally DEPENDENT on non-native ethics and values; dependent on market-place fluctuations and world-tensions; dependent on outside politics behind the money invested; dependent on courts and judges to settle 'business matters'; dependent on jobs often connected to the military-defense buildup--making components for weapons & support systems that will go on to kill other Indians and Native people, and facing **economic boycotts** and distancing themsleves from friends who have supported Native Self Determination, but will NOT support Indians who mainline their resources into the American consumer glut.

But Indians have eyes, and hearts and a healthy resevoir of common sense; it is the apparatchiks in Washington and those inclined to jockey for power that will blindside all of us with their lawyers. We will need legal teams for our Land Reclamation Program; it appears that before we get started on 'Land Claims', and environmental regulations, Land Use Options and Management, Feds are pushing these TAX and ECONOMIC Programs onto us to compromise actual issues of sovereignty, jurisdiction, regulation and self-sufficiency.

This is not a Notes Editorial, it is one obsever talking from experience as a victim and participant in previous sell-outs. We all err along the road, we all pick up and continue. Notes struggles daily with the concepts of 'media' and 'commercialism' and unity or dis-unity. This Report may be "just another Report", it may also signal the end of Indianess as we know it. Still, anyone with a conscience and consiousness, always attempts to get at the positiveness of these situations. Grabbing for profits may seem positive, but the "long view" always shows the hidden costs. I do not think this article will foster dis-unity; we all know we should be working together. The Indians on top say they were not consulted by the Whites on top, we Indians on bottom say we are never consulted by the Indians on top. Whites on the bottom now feel like Indians did, we can't let that positive connection slip by us, even if some Americans now 'blame' Indians for their problems. Indian 'problems' must be solved by Indians and then deal with non-Indians on our own terms.

Every Indian community is, should be, working on those aspects of Indian Law, Jurisdiction, Environmental Regulation, Land Reclamation and Land Use Options. Once the profit-motive takes hold, as espoused in this Report, these important aspects of ANYONE's future will be that much harder to implement. Education is vital. Traditionals must learn to delegate the responsibilities among those willing to help, so that our representatives are not "burned-out", new blood is needed to carry the load and learn from those who carry the load now; then those with experience must stay home and organize and make people mad enough to participate; educate always both Indians and non-Indians; the practice of culture is essential, the transmission of values of vital importance.

Educated Indians must be prepared to 'set their sights lower', as Pres. Reagan often suggests his own people to do, for the benefit of all. It is too late for Indians to become rich, aristocratic, class-conscious. Reagan is telling his constituency this right now...don't aim high, be realistic, we got to pull together. But, when it comes to Indians, this Report is saying "If we believe in the profit-motive" ("the magic of the market-place") then all Indians can be successful and comfortable." How can we raise our standards of living, when he expects his own peoples' to drop. **Time may be his factor, in time we all will have jobs, yet they do not like the Indian-style maximum employment ethic, for it does not create a hierarchy of those on top needing more and those on bottom needing to get in. But time is something we have little of, as a society of Native Americans, as people dependent on the environment.**

Traditionals who believe in sovereignty, that you can keep profit-makers out with pieces of paper saying: "We are sovereign.", can be in for a rude surprise when this report is followed and they come in. Without our own structures and management plans and options to this slave-labor, we will lose the fight "for hearts and minds". Class struggle among haves and have-nots will tear at the principles of Indianess. We must resist. We must educate. We must form alliances and coalitions.

Progressives must understand that todays 'Indianness' has little to do with culture; too many good values have been replaced by false values of greed and individualness without community responsibility. If progressives want their Industrial Parks and 9-5 jobs and 'Wilderness vacations', they must create the proper environmental regulations in conjunction with Traditional Land Use Options. If they wish to live with poison and cancer, they should be prepared to deal with all it's aspects. There are probably some people who are looking forward to this Indian Suburban Paradise, without thinking of every ghetto and boom-town trailer-park, whorehouse-alcohol-drug stampede that follows Progress.

Progressives also call for sovereignty, but when they are well-off in Indian Suburbia, they will have no need for sovereignty. They will be able to pay taxes and pay for health services and colleges. We all should look at what people are hiding when they say they are for sovereignty. Nationalism can mask ignorance, criminal behavior, apathy and greed. Nationalism can promote unity, environmental quality (for people and all life) , Indian values and proper education.

If the Reagan Indians develop their Master's Plan, in years the political shift will correct the excesses of this pro-business tilt. Whatever reformist party that comes in will Re-form whatever is left of Indian Country to suit their particular program. Imagine this, that Indians go whole-hog becoming those capitalists the Media says we can become. Imagine the 'New' Democrats sweeping in with tons of paper regulations to control that which has gone out-of-control; imagine Indian Country becoming the playground of wealthy businessmen who control us as they do Third World countries, that which isn't polluted beyond habitation; imagine the New Dems abrogating what's left of our 'special status' to correct this imbalance.

The other side, of course, is that there will be no Indians left, except the cultural groups putting on shows for tourists. The answer lies somewhere in between, the answer is not Republican or Democrat..it is Indian, common sense.

One can not support opening up of sovereign territory for commercial development, until all proper Native Structures are in place to deal with the issues of: Indian Law, Courts, Jurisdiction; Environmental Regulation, Wildlife & Resource Management; Human Resource Development; Education & Communications; Traditional Land Use Options and Zoning-Tax Code. The past has demonstrated that programs of "good intent" have not worked due to the resistance of Native culture ('Dissonance' in Report); and the feeling this Report fosters is--They assume our Cultures have been acculturated by their Industrial and wage-labor values, and such a new Program should, finally, set out to do what all the previous programs failed at, the Termination of Native Society, Values, and abrogation of Trust Services, Treaty Rights and Sovereign Status of Tribal Nations. It may not be an open or hidden conspiracy with planned agenda, but 'The Time Is Now' Push and the assumptions that all Indians will toe the line, progressive, traditional, conservationist and capitalist, to accept the profit-motive and "magic of the market-place" is so naive, yet typical, and arrogant to the point that You Do Wonder Why? they never studied all their own past federal failures--never consulted Self-Sufficiency Programs that seek to develop their own Labor Intensive, Appropriate Technology, Resource Management projects and where these Traditional Employment/Resource Conservation Programs are to fit in these grand designs based on cash, someone's cash and investment...and control.

If we were to take that $750,000 they used for the year-long Report, we could develop 7½ co-operative ventures that would ensure varying forms of employment, ranging from agriculture-livestock----Community Food Co-ops/ Greenhouses/Truck Farms/Common vehicles----Warehouses of inexpensive building materials----arts/crafts co-ops---- communications exchange/services. While there are few profits to be made, people can regulate their own employment, even develop secondary services for additional income--become less dependent on outside markets and prices--unemployment becomes less traumatic--internal support and community sharing develop.

For every Industrial Park, there needs to be several such self-sufficient ventures to keep Tribal income in our borders and supporting co-operative development. **For every Indian Business Corporation there will be the push for taxes to 'legitimize' business and keep state agencies of their backs (the state pressures the wholesalers, who in turn pressure the Indian businesses; outside investment is another term for a Money Sieve--cash flows out the cracks like a poorly insulated house.**

Indian Country should move deliberately on Development, so that proper Native Values and Institutions are developed at the same pace, including Land Reclamation. The artificial agencies of development can assume false priorities and mask the under-development of much-needed Native Structures and Values, damaging credibility and sovereignty, setting very dangerous precedents.

—Karoniaktatie

(The articles concerning this new Report are presented to start a dialogue among those Native Americans who have not, and probably will not be invited to discuss their side of this Development Binge. We hope to receive feedback, response and criticisms outlining a more Traditional-Conservationist attitude and approach to the problems and solutions discussed here and elsewhere concerning all aspects of this issue.)

Martin Reply to Report...

The report does not mention one of the critical keys to developmental success--**education, its availability and quality.** The Indian schools must be reformed (perhaps the only method is through tribal contract of this federal trust responsibility), not only to provide for a skilled work force, but also to provide an Indian citizenry with at least an overall understanding of economic forces and the meanings of production, scheduling, and marketing. Schools run by federal bureaucrats produce little bureaucrats. We have never heard of even one Indian student in a Bureau School who has studied economics, and know of none who would even know what "entrepreneurial capacity" means. At Choctaw, we have developed a small economics program this year, administered by the tribe within the BIA schools, but the lag time between these students' instruction and the day they enter the work force at the tribal enterprises will be long indeed. Some more immediate commitment to economics education needs to be amde for, and by, Indian tribes nationwide if reservation economies are eventually to flourish.

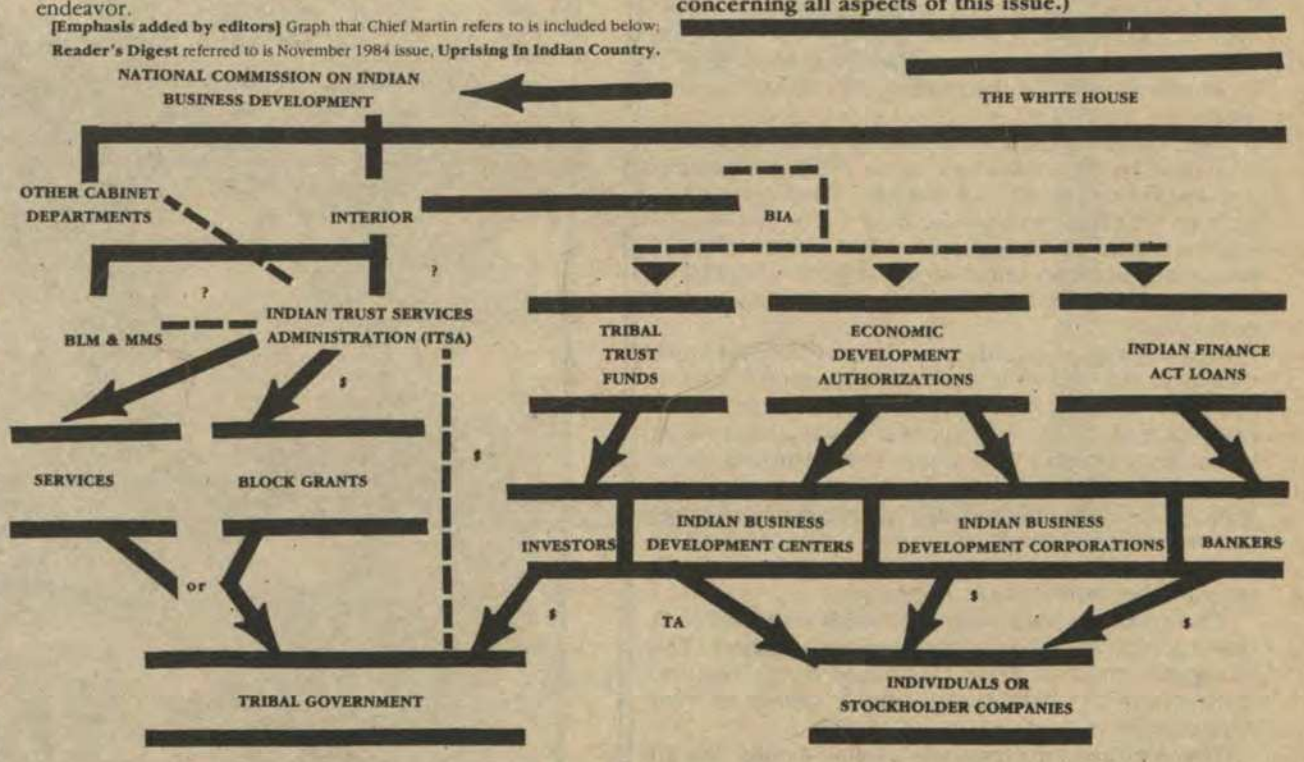
We find the Commission to have erred on the side of **pessimism and partisanship** by failing to examine successes among tribally-owned businesses and industries, and recommending **supply-side solutions** to the obstacles identified. Individual and specific problems the Commission identified quite well, but the report merely scratches the surface of key structural and macroeconomic problems the reservations face. We would suggest a thorough investigation and analysis of successful and succeeding tribal economies in order to derive some conclusions about the common elements in each.

Instead of erecting new commissions, agencies, funds, centers, and corporations, we would urge that these recommendations of the current Commission be **scrapped**. We also strongly recommend that the President's new Interior Secretary and Assistant Secretary sit down with the leaders of the economically successful tribes to develop a more realistic approach to reservation problems, focused primarily on dealing with high unemployment levels through more flexible administration of federal funds, private sector involvement--and on a government-to-government basis. Many successful tribes have intensive experience in feasibility studies, cash flow projections, financial packaging, and other key elements in assuring the production of quality products, on schedule, and at a competitive rate,

We do not see the necessity for such dramatic changes as those proposed, when the usual approach to business is usually just common sense. These obstacles on Indian reservations have been there a long time; and there are no quick solutions to the problems. We need to be patient, to be careful we take a pragmatic approach to the problems.

This tribe stands ready to work with the federal government and the governments of the other Indian tribes to assist in this endeavor.

[Emphasis added by editors] Graph that Chief Martin refers to is included below; **Reader's Digest** referred to is November 1984 issue, **Uprising In Indian Country.**



Doug George — Kanentiio with Marc and Maisy Bodart in Luxemburg. Photo: Maisy Bodart

Akwesasne Freedom School Visits Europe

FUNDRAISING TRIP CONSIDERED A SUCCESS — Representatives of the Akwesasne Freedom School visited Europe recently to raise funds and support for the school. Speakers Harriet Boots, Brian Skidders and Douglas M. George conducted a series of presentations in Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Luxemburg.

The representatives were impressed by the hospitality shown by the Europeans regardless of where they went. Their presentations about the activities of the Freedom School were met with enthusiasm by the Europeans, many of whom expressed relief that at least one native society was moving positively towards control over their own affairs.

The speakers also carried with them two short films. One presented the Akwesasne Mohawks as they were in 1980, when it appeared as though their community would be torn apart by political factions. The second concentrated on the Mohawk traditional philosophy that stimulated the creation of the Freedom School. The Mohawk speakers assured the Europeans that Akwesasne has spent the last four years working hard at constructing a united community. They said Akwesasne is an example of what can be achieved by native people if they were given the freedom to run their own affairs.

The Freedom School, it was observed, is the latest attempt by the traditional people to gain control over the education of their children and to secure the survival of a distinct Mohawk culture. The Europeans audiences were responsive to the idea of preserving the "old ways" with many of them saying they were actively searching for methods to increase their sensitivity to the natural world.

The Freedom School spokesperson were encouraged by the concern for the environment expressed by the people of Europe. They noticed as they travelled about that the land there was suffering from too much industry. This was confirmed by their hosts who said that up to 50% of the trees of Europe were being killed by acid rain and other pollutants.

Many of the people the representatives met were deeply involved in activist causes ranging from the anti-war protests to preserving the earth. They noticed that on the whole, there was much more social protests and community activism than was apparent in North America. The Europeans were looking for cultures that still had their native ways and were impressed by Mohawk traditions and its ability to survive 400 years of assimilationist pressure by white North Americans.

The speakers also visited schools to lecture on the teaching methods of the Freedom School. The European children were fascinated by native life, with many of them expressing a desire to visit Akwesasne.

The Akwesasne Freedom School would like to express its gratitude to their European hosts and its wishes that the spirit of generosity shown by the Europeans will develop into a lifelong friendship.

END

Akwesasne Freedom School

With the season of snow here, smoke curls from the chimney at the Freedom School. It is good to walk through the school, seeing the many children and teachers at work and at play.

Best of all is to hear the Mohawk Language being spoken and to know that these children are the future of our Nation.

We ask for continued support and tax-deductible donations. Help this important school to survive and expand.

Niawen,
Freedom School Staff

Akwesasne Freedom School
P.O. Box 290
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683

Joe Roberts

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The Situation of Indigenous Populations in the United States: A Contemporary Perspective

For presentation at the Second Seminar on the Situation of the Black, Chicano, Cuban, Native American, Puerto Rican, Carribean and Asian Communities in the United States; Havana, Cuba, Dec. 4-6, 1984. Prepared by Ward Churchill, delegate, International Indian Treaty Council.

The contemporary situation of the indigenous peoples of the United States (American Indians, Native Americans, Amerindians, etc., in the popular vernacular) is generally misunderstood to be that of ethnic or racial minorities. This is a fundamental misconception in at least two primary ways.

First, there is no given ethnicity which might be correctly said to encompass those who are indigenous to what is now construed as US territorality. Rather, there are at least 400 distinctly identifiable ethnicities comprising what is lumped into the catch-all category of "Native American." Similarly, at least three noticeably different racial divisions prevail within the overall group; persons of the so-called "Athabascan stock" (such as Navajos and Apaches) are as physically different from Iroquoian peoples (Mohawk and Cherokees, for example) as Mongolians are from Arabs.

Second, notions of ethnic or racial minority status fail profoundly to convey the sense of national identity by which most or all North American indigenous populations define themselves. This characteristic, not the factor or ethnicity, is most important in understanding the reality of native North America today. It is this sense of themselves as coherent and viable nations which lends substance and logic to the forms of struggle undertaken by these peoples over the past quarter-century.

When we speak of North American indigenous peoples as nationalities, it is essential to understand that the term is not being employed rhetorically, metaphorically or symbolically. To the contrary, it is intended that a precise meaning be imparted. We contend that the indigenous peoples of the North have constituted, and continued to constitute nations in the strictest definition of this term, and we assert this on the basis of three major premises.

1) There is a doctrine within modern international law known as "the right of inherent sovereignty." Basically, this principle holds that a people constitutes a nation simply because, "since time immemorial," it has always done so, ie: from the point of its earliest contact with other peoples or nations the people in question has been known to possess a given territorality, a means of structure of self-governance, a form of legality, and means to determine its own membership and social composition.

Such is the case with the various "tribes" indigenous to the North American continent. To posit but one extremely clear example, the Iroquois Confederacy (composed of the Mohawk, Tuscarora, Seneca, Onondaga, Cayuga and Oneida nations) which held — and to some extent still hold — territory in the modern-day state of New York and adjacent areas of Canada, was possessed of a democratic representative governmental system so developed and refined at the point of historic contact with Europeans that Benjamin Franklin acknowledged having adapted with (with a number of corruptive alterations based in class, race and sex) as the model upon which he based the US governmental structure.

The Iroquois "Longhouse" governance mechanism remains intact and functioning to this day. Similarly, the languages of the Confederacy are still commonly spoken, the tradition of legality established by Hiawatha through the "white roots of peace" remains in effect, and the Iroquois nations' means of defining their own membership (including the sovereign prerogative of naturalizing citizenry) has never been abandoned. A number of other indigenous nations exhibit very comparable contemporary characteristics.

2) Conventional understanding of international law and custom restrict treaty-making and treaty relationships to the level of interaction prevailing between nations, in the most technically precise meaning of the latter term. This is reflected in US domestic law at the highest level. Articles I and VI of the US Constitution clearly restrict US treaty-making prerogatives to the federal rather than state, local or individual levels, and assert that the

federal government is itself enjoined from entering into treaty relationships with other than **fully** sovereign entities (ie: the US federal government is not empowered to legaly enter into treaty relations with provincial, state or local governments, or with individuals).

The fact that the United States government, roughly between the years 1790 and 1870, willingly entered into 371 treaty relationships with various indigenous people in North America goes far toward corroborating their claim to status as sovereign national entities under the right on inherent sovereignty. It also established beyond all reasonable doubt that these peoples enjoy valid legal calims to sovereign national status under both international and US domestic law. It might be said — perversely under the circumstances in which the indigenous nations of North America now find themselves — that the United States, above all nations or even groups of nations, has gone to the greatest lengths to formally recognize the full legitimacy of their sovereign status. Of such paradoxes are modern international relations born.

3) Of course, it can be argued — and it has been, by US officials and others — that although North American indigenous nations present an impeccable case on moral grounds, and a technically valid legal case as well, pragnatic considerations of "the real world of the 20th Century" preclude actualization of their national autonomy and self-determination. Within this perspective, indigenous nations are too small, both in terms of landbase (and accompanying resources) and in size of population(s), to survive in the contemporary inter-national context.

At first glance, such thinking seems plausible enough, even humane. At second glance, however, it can be seen to overlook the examples of tiny European nations such as Monaco and Lichtenstein who have survived for decades in the midst of the greediest and most warlike continental context in the history of the world. Further, it ignores the fact of even smaller national entities among the islands of the Pacific whose current sovereignty the US not only is willing to acknowledge, but whose recent admission to the United Nations the US willingly endorse. The contradictions here are readily apparent; the mode of thinking at issue is really a veneer, the rationalization "justifying" colonialism and "assimilation" (the contemporary US euphemism for genocide, where indigenous North Americans are concerned).

Closer examination reveals even further inaccuracy within the posture of apologists for present-day US "Indian policy." The Navajo Nation, for example, holds a landbase considerably larger than a number of Caribbean islands — such as Grenada — each of which hold an obvious and unquestionable right to sovereignty and self-determination. The Navajo population is also greater than that of Grenada and a number of other smaller Caribbean islands. In addition, the Navajo Nation possesses an estimated 50 billion tons of low-sulphur coal, approximately 40% of all known "US" reserves of uranium, substantial deposits of oil and natural gas, and assets in diamonds, gold, silver, copper, gypsum and bauxites.* This is aside from a limited, but real grazing and agricultural capability. By any standard of conventional economic definition, the Navajo people hold a relatively wealthy resource posture as compared to most 3rd and 4th World nations, and not a few capitalist ones. To say that Navajo lacks the ability to survive in the modern contest while simultaneously postulating that Grenada had assumed proportions of being a threat to US "national security" as lately as 1984 is to engage in the height of cynicism and absurdity (on both counts.)

While Navajo is perhaps the clearest example of the potential for complete autonomy on the part of indigenous nations internal to the US, it is by no means the only one. The combined Lakota reservations possess an aggregate landbase exceeding that of the Navajo and, although they exhibit a somewhat less spectacular range of mineral assets, this seems largely offset by their greater agricultural/grazing potential in combination with a considerably smaller population size. Other, adequate to their population sizes and many possess rich economic potentials which vary from mineral assets and agricultural grazing lands to timbering and fishing/aquaculture. Small manufacturing enterprizes and even tourism are also viable options in a number of instances.

Moreover, all this is true even without just resolution of many treaty-based claims lodged by various indigenous nations against the US relative to vast tracts of land and resources which were simply expropriated by the latter (in direct contravention of both domestic and international law), or before indigenous nations begin to truly exercise sovereign prerogatives such as the naturalization of citizens. The Lakota Nation alone, were its 1868 treaty with the United States to be honored by the latter, would find itself in possession of an area amounting to nearly 5% of the 48 contiguous states; naturalization of persons residing within the various treaty areas (and those wishing to place themselves or willing to relocate for purposes of coming under indigenous governance and jurisdiction) might well increase the citizenry of Native North America by several millions.

In combination, these three points explain why we hold that the indigenous peoples of North America retain every right not only by virtue of ethics and morality, but in terms of legality and current viability to conduct their affairs as sovereign nations. The liberation struggle we wage is thus not one extended against the discrimination and class exploitation visited by a dominant society and its bourgeoisie upon ethnic and racial minorities within the United States, although we staunchly oppose these conditions and fully support those who actively resist them. Rather, as colonized nations we are pursuing strategies and courses of action designed and intended to lead to decolonization **within** a colonizing "mother country." Hence, while we share a common oppressor with our brothers and sisters of African, Latin and Asian origins within the US, the goals, objectives and many of the means of our struggle must be understood in terms necessarily different from theirs. We, "The Indians" of the North and "Los Indios" of the South, of all the people of the Americas, struggle for the liberation of our homelands rather than for the liberation of land upon which to build our homes. We, of all the people of the Americas, engage in our struggles from the basis of our cultures, our freely collective societies born in and long since integral to this hemisphere, rather than struggling to create liberatory cultures allowing the expression of human freedom.

It is from this perspective that the recent history of North American indigenous struggle — the occupation of Alcatraz Island, the Bureau of Indian Affairs Building in Washington, DC, and Wounded Knee, the battles over fishing rights fought by the Nisqually, Susquamish, Lummi and other Northwestern nations, the armed resistence demonstrated on the Pine Ridge Reservation and all the rest — must be viewed and thus correctly understood. It is this understanding by which the sacrifices of our warriors — brothers and sisters such as Buddy LaMont, Byron DeSersa, Pedro Bissonette, Anna Mae Aquash, Joe Stuntz, Tina Trudell, Richard Oakes (all fatalities of the Movement), Leonard Peltier, Dino, and Gary Butler (political prisoners), and many others — takes on its true meaning. And it is from this meaning that one can appreciate the substance of the struggles in which we engage at this very moment: the unswerving resistence of some 10,000 traditional Navajo people in the Big Mountain area of Arizona (headed by the true tribal leadership composed of elder women) to US plans to forcibly relocate them from their land in order to stripmine the coal underlying the area. Or, in the Black Hills area of South Dakota, the ongoing occupation of Yellow Thunder Camp, a part of an effort undertaken by traditional Lakota elders and the American Indian Movement to recover Lakota treaty territories. Or the ongoing efforts in the state of Washington by traditional indigenous people to retain their treaty-guaranteed livelihood based upon fishing. Or the struggles, including armed resistence, of the Mohawk people of New York to retain control of their communities and to implement alternative technologies leading to greater self-sufficiency (and corresponding independence from the United States). Many other examples, of course, might be cited to illustrate each of these points.

At a level broader than the specific and localized confrontations mentioned above, the American Indian Movement continues to wage its struggle against the various mechanisms by which the US government asserts its doctrine of "plenary power" over all North American indigenous nations. This effort can only be understood correctly as a campaign to reinforce and protect the various indigenous sovereignities at issue from a range of US juridical instruments and concomitant policies. Among these, although the illustrative list is hardly exhaustive, are two bits of legislation accruing from the 1880's: the Severalty Act (popularly termed "The Dawes Act") which served to forcibly privatize in 160 acres parcels Indian reservation land which had formerly been held and utilized as collective property, and the so-called "Seven Major Crimes Act" which extended US jurisdiction over all indigenous territories within the US for the first time. Also at issue is the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924, by which the United States unilaterally imposed its citizenship upon all indigenous persons within its borders (without, however, negating the aboriginal citizenship status of these persons; indigenous people were made "dual citizens" of both the US **and** their own original sovereignties). Again, the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, by which the US created a system of colonial puppet regimes on many reservations in an attempt to supplant traditional indigenous governmental forms, is a major focus of AIM resistence.

At another level still, the international diplomatic arm of the American Indian Movement — the International Indian Treaty Council, representing some 98 indigenous nations throughout the hemisphere — works continuously to acquaint other nations with realities of Native American sovereignty. The role of the Treaty Council is not only educational/informative in the international community, but to establish alliances and other forms of working relationships with government around the world. This goal of creating government-to-government relations is pursued with the utmost seriousness because, in the end, it is through recognition of themselves as fully sovereign entities within the international arena that indigenous peoples in the Americas perceive the sole possibilities of a just and permanent resolution of the difficulties they now confront.

At this juncture, it becomes both possible and appropriate to pose the question of what concerned persons, organizations and governments might do to assist the indigenous nations of North America in their liberation struggles. At the individual and organizational levels, it seems safe to observe that while the possibilities are myriad and often complex, substantial methods of rendering mutual support have been developed between the indigenist movement and the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Asian communities within the United States and, in some instances, abroad. These must, of course, continue to be strengthened, developed and perfected. However, the prognosis in this regard appears good in many ways.

At the level of governments the situation has been much less thoroughly explored and seems considerably more sensitive. We would certainly not contend that the forms of support and assistance extended by governments such as that of Cuba, or those of other friendly and progressive nations such as Nicaragua, Libya, Vietnam, etc. be military, in terms of trade or the like. Rather, we would suggest that perhaps the single most important — indeed, crucial — sort of direct support which might be provided at the intergovernmental level would be the formal recognition of the sovereign status of the various nations indigenous to US territorality, a welcoming of these nations into the modern international community as peers. There are a wide array of possible routes to such an end, and we are not positing any one of these as being inherently superior to another. Recognition need not be conveyed through summit conferences, meetings of heads of state or via official proclamations; it can be a matter as simple as honoring the passports of indigenous nations for purposes of entering and exiting supportive nations. This, to be sure constitutes a formal recognition of our national sovereignty, and it obviously frees us from an unwarranted dependence upon our colonizer in traveling abroad to pursue our agenda of decolonizing our various nations. This would be a small beginning, no doubt, but nonetheless an important one; it is from precisely such small beginnings that substantial changes in the course of nations can emerge.

END

International Indian Treaty Council, 777 United Nations Plaza, Suite 10F, New York, NY 10017, (212)-986-6000

Camel's Hump

In 1964, forestry professor Tom Siccama, then a graduate student, selected Camel's Hump mountain in Vermont for his studies in mountain forest ecology. He mapped the forest floor with measurements of the various species growing over an area of forest floor. In 1979, he resurveyed the forest and discovered that there had been a 50 percent decline in spruce in the same area of his measurements 15 years previous. Tom describes Camel's Hump in 1964 as being "essentially a closed canopy forest," but since 1964 most of the large trees have died leaving a scraggly stand of sick trees.

Tom Siccama's discovery was followed by a flurry of research activity as professors and students set about to find the cause of this decline. They cored and measured trees up and down the east coast from Maine to North Carolina. Tom and a colleague, Arthur H. Johnson, a soil scientist with the University of Pennsylvania, made an important discovery. Spruce, a major species of mountain forests in the Adirondacks, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, and down the Appalachians to the Smokey Mountains in North Carolina, exhibited a syncronized change to very slow growth rates beginning sometime after 1960 when the annual growth rings of spruce showed that an abrupt change to very narrow increments in growth rings took place. These findings have been supported by yet another on-going study in Tennessee.

Oak Ridge National Laboratory

Samual B. McLaughiin, a forest physiologist with Oak Ridge National Laboratory in Tennessee, who has been studying 14,000 tree cores of 31 species from both high and low altitude, has confirmed that all 31 species are now growing more slowly. Studies of these tree cores, which were collected from 15 eastern states from Maine to Missouri to Arkansas, show that over the past 20 to 25 years there has been a sustained and synchronous regional decline in the growth rates of several species. Using the time between 1932 and 1956 as a base period, it is calculated that for several evergreen species the rate of growth decline is in the range of 20 to 30 percent, and that for 5 high elevation species the growth decline in the last 10 years is about 40 percent.

In general, the findings of Dr. McLaughlin indicate that this abrupt change to slower growth rates occurred at about the same time in New England, Tennessee and North Carolina. Symptoms of decline were observed at both high and low altitudes and were found to be affecting the young trees in the same manner as older trees. Species most affected are the softwoods such as spruce, fir, short leaf and pitch pine, but hardwoods like yellow birch, black oak, sugar maple and hickory also exhibit abnormally slowed growth rates. The same patterns of decline in diameter growth rates in recent decades were observed in tree ring studies in central and northern Europe, and these symptoms were followed by accelerated incidences of decline and mortality in many species.

Mount Mitchell

So the decline of forests is not limited to species or to high elevation areas. The degree of decline simply depends on the elevation, with the worst symptoms of decline on the mountain tops, but decline is indicated at lower elevations as well. This variance in degree of decline is due to the nature of acid concentrations at high and low altitudes. If altitude can be taken as an indicator of things to come, then the discovery on top of the highest peak on the Eastern Seaboard, Mount Mitchell near Asheville, North Carolina, may give us a glimpse of our worst ecological fears. Dr. Robert I. Bruck, a plant pathologist at North Carolina State University, in his studies of Mount Mitchell has found that *virtually no plant life is reproducing up there.*

Research has not been able to account for this widespread decline to natural causes such as weather patterns, drought, temperature changes, diseases, insects (although trees weakened by air pollution succumb to insect attacks more easily), or other climatic changes. The weight of mounting scientific evidence points persistently to environmental pollution in the form of clouds and precipitation containing acids, ozone, saturation level nitrogen, and heavy metals including lead and aluminum, as being the foremost contributor of ecological decline.

Scientific research on the effects of acid rain on forests was supplied with an important insight recently, and it came from an unexpected source. Trends in oil and coal production, and industrial activity provided an anchor to the new theories of the actual mechanics of widespread ecological decline due to the effects of acid precipitation. Air pollution specialists in St. Louis, Missouri, using these production figures have reconstructed the changes in air pollution levels since the beginning of this century. Coal mining figures lead to sulfur emission levels and oil production figures lead to emission levels of nitrogen oxides and hydrocarbons, for example.

Since the turn of the century, sulfur emissions in the eastern part of the United States have not changed substantially, however, in the south east, sulfur emissions have been increasing steadily. But the trends in nitrogen oxide emissions was the key that opened Pandora's Box. Nitrogen oxide emissions from automobiles has risen steadily in both regions since about 1900. The sharpest increases came during the 1950's and 1960's, and this was about the time when trees throughout the eastern United States evidenced the sharp growth decline. Nitrogen oxide and hydrocarbon emissions, not sulfur, increased as the forests began their decline.

This fact lends credence to present theories which incorporate the effects of Ozone and Nitric acid on not only the forest vegetation, but the lakes and streams as well.

Acid Rain: The Chemistry Of Pestilence

At first, the origin of the acids in the rainfall was a mystery because these acids are not actually emitted by any polluter. It came as somewhat of a surprize when it was realized that pollutants were undergoing chemical reactions in the atmosphere, forming acids which are returned to earth as precipitation.

Our atmosphere takes up three major pollutants, Nitrogen Oxides, (NOx), Sulfur Oxides (SOx), and Hydrocarbons (HC), recombines them in the sunlight and moisture of the upper atmosphere and returns them to earth as corrosive acids. Nitrogen oxides are produced when oil or coal is burned. Automobile exhaust contains unburnt hydrocarbons as well as nitrogen oxides. Coal fired industrial plants emit sulfur and nitrogen oxides. Over the space of a day or two, these pollutants go through more than 150 reactions. Three main pollutants are formed in the clouds, Ozone — a corrosive gas, Nitric Acid, and sulfuric acid (battery acid). These corrosives may travel hundreds of miles from their source by the time these reactions are completed with acid precipitation as the result.

Clouds, it has been discovered, are great concentrators of pollutant materials. The clouds observed at the Whiteface Mountain Observatory show levels of pollution which are typically 10 times higher in concentrations than in the precipitation collected at the same location. Such acid concentrations creates conditions which accelerate the rate of decline, explaining why the trees in the higher elevation areas exhibit the most profound symptoms of decline. If a cloud simply evaporates, its pollutant load is dispersed throughout the atmosphere, however, if a mountain intercepts this cloud prior to evaporation, the trees and soil on the mountain top receive a dose of this highly concentrated acid cloud moisture. Mountain tops spend up to 200 days a year in the clouds, bathed in this corrosive vapor.

Laboratory simulations of these mountain conditions studying of the effects of this *acid fog* on the conifer needles, which comb this acid moisture from the clouds, have revealed a more complex pathology of decline than might have been anticipated. One interpretation of the laboratory findings has it that these conifer needles become weakened through the corrosive effects of the ozone component of acid moisture. The protective surface layer of cell membrane on the needles is weakened by ozone and through the combined effects of acid fog, vital nutrients are leached out of the needles.Magnesium, potassium, and calcium are washed out of the needles, photosynthesis is disrupted, the needles turn yellow and fall off, and when the biomass of the conifer is reduced beyond a critical point, the tree dies. Nutrient deficiency disease — Magnesium dificiency in particular is one possible cause of widespread forest death due to the leaching effects of acid rain. Although there was no yellowing of the needles in the laboratory simulation, the discovery of nutrient depletion may still be significant because this knowledge may point the way to an answer of just what causes needle yellowing and needle loss which leads to biomass reduction and subsequent death of conifers.

Paradoxically, Art Johnson of the University of Pennsylvania who is studying the behavior of spruce needles on Camel's Hump in Vermont, theorizes that the rich nitrogen content of acid fog could be *fertilizing* the needles causing them to continue growing late into the fall. As a result, the

needles do not harden properly for winter and are killed by the frost. He discovered that, by spring, a substantial proportion of the needles on declining trees had turned brown over the winter months and are dropped from the trees sometime during the summer.

Given the complexity of interactions between pollutant matter and living organisms, it is entirely possible that both theories of needle damage involving the nutrient element are correct and that the combined effects of magnesium depletion and nitrogen saturation may bring us nearer to a consolidated comprehension of the mechanisms of decline. Perhaps the acid fog containing Ozone, Nitric and surlfuric acids, destroys the outer cell membrane of the needles and leaches out vital nutrients like magnesium, potassium, and calcium, while the nitrogen rich acid fog saturates and fertilizes the needles causing them to grow late into the fall until they are killed by the frost, turn brown over the winter and drop off during the summer.

The nitrogen theory offers perhaps the most consistent explanations for widespread forest decline in the United States and in Europe. But new evidence indicates that it may also contribute to lake decline through an *"event"* process called acid shock. At the outset of acid rain research, nitric acid was not considered to be a factor in lake decline because surfuric acid is the major pollutant element found in the lake water. These initial findings are not surprizing in light of the nitrogenation theory. During the growing season, nitric acid is absorbed by the vegetation as a fertilizer and so would not appear in the lake water in large amounts. Only sulfuric acid reaches the water. This situation changes during the winter months when the plants are dormant. The snow pack absorbs and stores both nitric and sulfuric acids until the spring breakup when the snow melt sends a massive shock of both acids into the lakes and streams, disrupting the reproduction cycle of fish because this acid shock hits the young fish at their most vulnerable time. Year by year, acid shock decimates the fish population, add to this increasing levels of sulfuric acid in the lake water, and you have a chronic situation which eventually kills the lake.

The results of laboratory experiments in which young pine trees were subjected to acid shock using simulated acid rain gave birth to yet another theory of forest decline. In the lab, the young trees which received the simulated acid rain developed stunted unhealthy roots, while the trees which were given normal water grew fibrous healthy roots systems. A fact which correlates with the development of roots systems in high and low elevations. The roots of trees gathered at a high elevation on Mount Mitchell appear blackened and stunted when compared with the tree roots collected at a lower elevation. The theory goes that acid rain and cloud events which may last hours or days at high elevations constitutes an acid shock which is damaging root systems of not just the trees, but the roots of other plant life as well.

Studies (cited earlier) conducted by Dr. Robert I. Bruck, revealed the startling fact that *no plant life is reproducing* on top of Mount Mitchell, the scene of the most pronounced damage in the eastern United States. Even in soils which have excellent resiliency to acids, the event process of acid fog, short as these events are, may be creating short term conditionsin the upper layers of the soil where the roots are concentrated which are detrimental to root and tree growth. Then, as the cloud event passes, the soil is able to overcome the effects of the acids and returns to normal, but the living organisms do not.

The experiments of Dr. Bruck lends some insight to the enormous complexity of interactions which contribute to forest decline. Dr. Bruck and his students discovered that acid moisture killed a type of tree fungus - Mycorrhizal Fungi, a symbiote which protects the roots of healthy trees. When the fungi died the trees began to die. On Mount Mitchell he observed the same dead and dying fungi on declining spruce.

EPILOGUE

"The air is foul, the waters poisoned, the trees dying, the animals disappearing. We think even the systems of weather are changing. Our ancient teaching warned us that if Man interfered with the Natural laws, these things would come to be. When the last of the Natural Way of Life is gone, all hope for human survival will be gone with it. And our Way of Life is fast disappearing, a victim of the destructive processes."

Sotsisowah

(From "Basic Call To Consciousness")

Whatever the case turns out to be as to the causes of ecological decline, and it is sure to be a veritable syndrome of interrelated factors, this new science of ecocide promises to be at least as complex as the puzzle of species symbiology binding the sacred web of life on this planet. According to the research of Dan Hemenway, that to kill one species of tree threatens, weakens, and may extinguish upwards of 30 other species of plant and animal life.

Like the oceans, forests are the cradle of all living things. They are the framework of a sacred living reality, a reality as delicate as a spider's web, perturbed by the slightest ripple. Each being effects the balance of the whole in the course of its lifetime because to survive it must eat other living things. With each death the world shifts; a nesting heron is killed by a wildcat and eaten; the wildcat will live to kill again, but the young birds will not live to eat fish, so there will be slightly more fish to eat insects; there will be less insects to eat the vegetation and less food for other birds and reptiles.....the ripple in the web of life echoes in all directions until it becomes balanced once more. It really doesn't take much to upset the balance of life on this earth. And to kill a forest is to destroy all the life sheltered within.

The death of the forests in our hemisphere are only half the horror. The forests in the southern hemisphere are scheduled for extinction about the same time as the forests in the north. Only, the forests in the southern hemisphere are being decimated by more direct means, they are being systematically cut down. Every year an area the size of New England is being cut from the tropical rain forests. The U.S. government, in the Global 2000 Report, promises that *"by the year 2000 virtually all physically accessible forests are expected to be cut from the less developed countries."*

We may already be experiencing some of the consequences of global deforestation. Could the abnormal events in our weather over the last decade or two be also related to forest decline? Australian ecologist Bill Mollison thinks so. He *"attributes unpredictable weather shifts to global deforestation because the earth has lost the direct moderating influence of forests as well as the ability of trees to regulate atmospheric carbon dioxide levels."* American scientists R.J.A. Goodland and Howard S. Irwin explain in their book *Amazon Jungle: Green Hell to Red Desert*, that *"in the last century the level of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has risen from 290 parts per million (ppm) to 320 ppm, and that a fifth of this change has come in the last decade. This, of course, is due to our love of fossil fuels in the 20th century. This rise in the level of CO2 (carbon dioxide) would be much higher except that the forests of the world absorb between a third and half of surplus carbon.*

"To destroy the Amazon is to destroy a third of our carbon sponge and encourage the much-publicized 'greenhouse effect.'"

Admittedly, the infant science of ecocide is still largely hypothesis, with the major focus on unraveling the logarithmic chain of events between the cause and effects of full spectrum biological decline. We may not know exactly how this decline is taking place, but we know what is causing it and we know who is responsible. Acid Rain is the cause of the decline, this we know without a shadow of a doubt, and we also know *who* causes Acid Rain. We do, our hydrocarbon lifestyle is destroying our world. We cannot point the finger at industry and make them the boogeyman because this time every single one of us is implicated. If we want to do something about acid rain we must begin by changing our lifestyle, and we can do it voluntarily or otherwise, because our choices have run out.

The death of our forests most assuredly will have disasterous economic impacts the world over. The first economic effects will be felt by the forest industry which will be followed by the lumber and paper industries. All wood dependent industries will die. Without paper the publishing and packaging industries will collapse, and as acid rain begins to effect the industries of food production the whole monetary value system will cease to be. The price of food will be too dear to exchange it for anything like money or gold. Whether we like it or not, our lifestyle is about to change drastically.

Whatever actions we take to stop acid rain, for some regions in our environment it may already be too late - areas like the Black Forest and the Northeastern United States where the damage is the worst. But if a powerful enough lobby mechanism could be organized by the many advocacy groups who are presently focussing their influence on one Cause or another, we might be able to bring enough attention and political influence to the problem to effect some change in the situation. Otherwise, what good will all these desparate efforts accomplish if our planet dies? If environmentalists, conservationists, bioregionalists, decentralists, ecologists, peace and anti-nuclear groups, human rights organizations, etc., across the planet were to consolidate their resources into one global Save The Earth movement we might have a fighting chance to save our Mother.

The alternative is to do nothing but wait for the inevitable. Here at Akwesasne we are mobilizing acid rain monitoring stations, a modest beginning, perhaps, but a beginning. Remember that from the smallest seed grow some of the largest of plants, cause and effect. If one understands this principle, no adversity shall seem insurmountable. Only one thing is for certain in the years ahead, the world and its people cannot continue in the manner in which they are accustomed to living. Human dominance on planet earth is coming to a conclusion and by choice or not humanity will be put in its place.

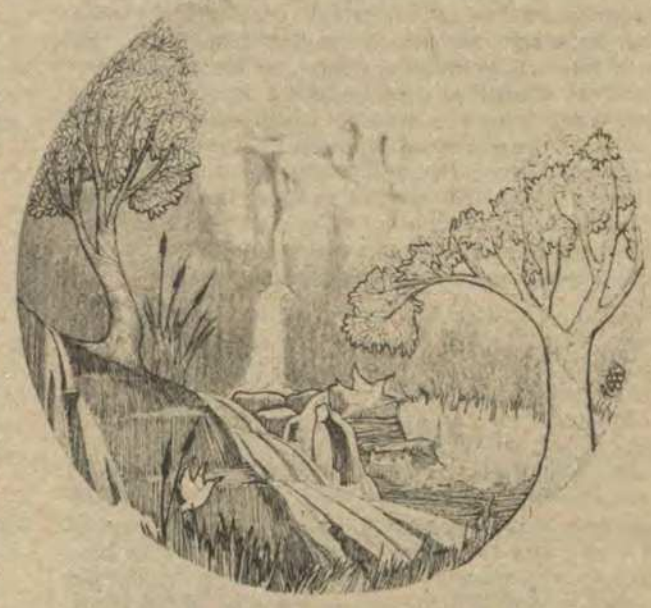
The fall of man will mark the end of this second millenia, Gaia will be silent in the third. The Epoch of Purification has begun.

Rokwaho

"The people who are living on this planet need to break with the narrow concept of human liberation, and begin to see liberation as something which needs to be extended to the whole of the Natural World. What is needed is the liberation of all things that support Life - the air, the waters, the trees - all the things which support the sacred web of Life."

Sotsisowah

(From "Basic Call To Consciousness")



Thanks to NOVA, Dan Hemenway, and the many sources for enlightenment, and to the ecoscientist, for caring.

Best of Notes

THE FUTURE

— ANALYSIS & OPINION

[We are grateful to Vine Deloria, Jr., a Lakota attorney and author who has been constantly engaged in the defense of native rights for the last decade and more, for this analysis and opinion. We agree with what he said in an accompanying letter to AKWESASNE NOTES: "It is time someone said something like this." The Editors.]

For nearly half-a-decade, we have watched a succession of speakers tell us that next year will be the "Year of the Indian." The hopefulness that once sparked a renewal of culture and the desire of many young Indians to force the Government to live up to its promises now seems tarnished. Alcatraz was six years ago in November, Wounded Knee is now nearly two-and-a-half years ago, and the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been over three years. We have all grown older — but damn few of us have grown any wiser.

In 1971, at the National Congress of American Indians [NCAI] convention in Reno, a resolution was proposed which would have created a new coalition of the four major organizations in Indian Affairs — the NCAI, the National Tribal Chairmen's Association [NTCA], the National Indian Youth Council [NIYC] and the American Indian Movement [AIM]. This coalition was to share strategy, discuss problems of mutual concern, and discover ways to get the Federal Government to provide adequate services to all Indians. At that convention, Robert Robertson, then leaving his post [in Spiro Agnew's vice-presidential office] as director of the National Council of Indian Opportunity [NCIO], very cleverly introduced the idea that the "urban" and "non-federally recognized" Indians were trying to "take over" Indian affairs. Indian politicians seized on that idea as an excuse to further their own ambitions, and Indian affairs has been the scene of incredibly bloodletting ever since.

The rejection or urban Indians and non-federal Indians is only conceivable if one is willing to overlook the oppression suffered by Indians in the course of American history, and if one is further capable of pretending that Indians have no responsibility for each other.

Where Were The Reservation Leaders?

In other words, if Indians act exactly like whites, with their only goal being that of preserving some fancied status for their special interest group and beating out everyone else, then they will have no concern for others not in their group.

But how did urban Indians get into the cities? Well, the Government had a relocation program that took hundreds and hundreds of families away from their reservations into the cities where they were dropped to fend for themselves. In spite of the many accusations made by present reservation leaders against "urban Indians", have the "urban Indians" ever acted tough and called the reservation leaders to account? Have they asked the NCAI and others where they were when families were being shipped off to the cities? Have they ever demanded of the reservation leadership why they did nothing to stop such a program?

The same holds true with the present "non-federally recognized" peoples. Can anyone seriously believe that all Indians who once lived on the Atlantic coast were either killed or moved west? Some of the Indian communities in the East lived in small out-of-the-way places, and the tide of white settlement simply moved right past many of them, leaving them as isolated groups without any contact with either other Indians, or with white society as a whole. It has only been in recent years that some of these communities have come out from their self-imposed isolation to try and establish some kind of relationships with other Indians. In this effort, they have tragically suffered rejection by western Indians who have little or no knowledge of the oppressions of other groups of Indians in American history.

Under the present criteria used by the NCAI to deny rights to eastern Indians, i.e., that they have not preserved their language, culture, etc., there would be a serious reduction in the number of real Indians in the West if such criteria were applied equally to the western Indians.

Just imagine taking those same criteria and applying them on an individual basis to the present crop of Indian leaders. How many really fluently speak their own tribal language, practice their traditional religion, and preserve specific tribal customs? It would be far different if such criteria were applied on an individual basis to the Indians in the BIA, NCAI, or any of the present organizations in Indian affairs. It would be far easier to apply the criteria and make up the short list of those present Indian leaders who *do* meet the criteria.

The present stance of many tribes is that no other groups of Indians should be recognized for federal rights. This attitude raises a serious question which all Indians should consider — what is the cut-off date for determining which tribes are to have federal recognition and which are not? Suppose we used 1900 as the cut-off date. Then we would be missing the Florida Seminoles and Miccosukes, the Papagos, the Mississippi Choctaws, the majority of California and Nevada tribes and communities, the Kalispels, Mille Lacs, Bay Mills, Keweenaw Bay, Stockbridge-Munsee, Flandreau Sioux, the Wisconsin Winnebagos and many other tribes whose reservations have been established in this century.

So what date should be acceptable to use to determine when no more tribes should have federal rights? The fact is that whenever an Indian community has tried to get its rights and status determined, other Indians have come screaming into the picture demanding that they not receive recognition on the theory that new recognitions would reduce the amount of money available to the tribes already receiving federal funds.

The past half-century has demonstrated that as more Indians are given federal services, the need of additional services has become apparent to the people in Congress and more and better programs have been authorized. Whenever the termination mood hits Congress and there is an effort to reduce federal services to Indians, it is never the programs that are terminated — rather communities of Indians are terminated and the bureaucrats keep their jobs and retirement.

So there should never be a question of opening federal services to new groups of Indians. History has shown that as new groups are added, more flexibility is given to the variety and amount of federal services that are available to all Indians. But when there is a determined effort to restrict federal recognition or services, then traditionally all Indian groups have suffered cutbacks in their rights and services.

The Outlook Is Not Bright

So we come to the proposition of what the future of Indians will be and the outlook is not bright. The large cities are now in the final death throes of the old era of expanding social services while raising a declining annual revenue from taxes. The impending bankruptcy of New York City (if and when it comes) will trigger a retrenchment in federal spending in areas that are considered non-essential — and if anyone thinks that the New York banks will be denied their money while the Government provides funds for western reservations to squander, they are kidding themselves.

The same goes for the energy crisis, and if we think that the Government won't find a justification for taking over oil, gas, timber and coal deposits under the guise of protecting or developing Indian resources, they don't know much about the last two-hundred years.

At present, we remain in a twilight zone because there is no impending crisis which would require the confiscation of the western reservations or the cutback in Indian programs. But this present era cannot last much longer, no matter how pleasant are the words of the White House to the western Indian political leaders. One cannot balance out less than a million Indians against eight-million New Yorkers and arrive at a satisfactory conclusion for Indians.

In order to survive a cutback in both services and concern like the one looking in the immediate future, Indians will have to have a clearly-defined position of who they are, what they are, what rights they have, and how both tribal governments and individual Indians fit into the larger American picture.

Preventing Wholesale Confiscation

At the present time, there is little indication that our leadership sees this crisis on its horizon. Somehow people believe that the present status quo will continue almost indefinitely because the white man feels guilty over what happened to Indians a century ago. That sympathy will vanish overnight when the pocketbooks of middle-class America are affected. It has vanished before, everytime a crisis of any significance has hit white society. There has rarely been any force that could prevent serious damage to Indians everywhere.

It would seem, therefore, that during these years of relative calm, the task for Indians is something greater than fighting eastern Indians over a piddling handful of educational funds. While the rest of American society makes radical changes in its values and style of life, the major items of importance for Indians would certainly have to be the stabilization of a number of things that have never been satisfactorily resolved during American history.

The first of these things is to achieve a precise definition of the status and political identity of Indian communities whether east, west, or urban. Unless white society can quickly and easily understand the political status and identity of Indian communities, there will be no way to prevent the wholesale confiscation of Indian lands and resources.

White politicians would not dream of taking the resources of a community of whites simply because another community of whites wanted those resources. Yet that confiscation happens everytime a corporation, federal agency, or private organization wants something that Indians have. At least partially, this confiscation occurs because there is no clear definition of the legal relationships between the United States and the respective Indian tribes. We are trying to clarify that problem in both the Wounded Knee trials and in the trials which will be held coming out of the Gresham, Wisconsin, occupation. We have drawn a clear line of argument that is based upon the clearest and most traditional doctrines in Indian law: one cannot imply a

OF INDIANS

by Vine Deloria Jr.

treaty abrogation, a change of status, or intent of Congress with respect to Indians unless it is clearly, explicitly, and specifically spelled out.

"Who Speaks For The Sioux?"

Again the tragedy of the recent Wounded Knee trials is that the Sioux tribal councils could not see that it was not simply the guilt or innocence of a few activists that was at stake, but the future political existence of the whole Sioux Nation. Whether one agreed with the occupants of Wounded Knee or not, the minute that the 1868 or 1851 treaties became a subject of court decision, it was then the duty of every Sioux Indian to work for the best possible interpretation of those treaties, whether he or she personally agreed with Dick Wilson or with Russell Means on the other issues involved at Wounded Knee.

The decision as to the present status of the 1868 Treaty has not been finally decided, yet in writing his opinion in the *Consolidated Wounded Knee* cases, U.S. District Court Judge Warren Urbom remarked: "Who speaks for the Sioux? Those traditional people who testified here? The Sioux of a different mind who did not testify? The officials elected by the Sioux on the eight reservations?"

In other words, to the white man – but particularly to the federal judges, the failure of the Sioux tribal councils or the United Sioux Tribes to appear and testify that they believed the treaty was a valid and currently enforceable legal doctrine which required certain standards of performance by the United States, was interpreted *as if the tribal governments were against the enforcement of the treaty!*

Rather than discrediting the activists by refusing to appear in Judge Urbom's courtoom at Lincoln, the Sioux tribal councils discredited themselves in the eyes of the federal officials. The same will hold true when the Menominee trials begin, because to the white man, all Indians are the same and no matter how much some of the Indian politicians want to be friends with the white man and his bureaucracy, they are still perceived as "Indians".

Living At The Whim of The Government

The second major problem which must be resolved today is that of land and natural resources. We still have a nebulous title to our lands which goes back to the 1500s and the basis of this title is that because Indians were not Christians, we had no capability of *ever* holding good land titles.

We live on our lands at the whim of the Government under this theory of land tenure. Yet in a practical everyday sense, we are allowed the income and benefits from the lands we live on – whenever it is to the advantage of the Interior Department to allow us those benefits. A check with recent Indian history will show that for many years, the income from timber and other resources was placed in a special account – it was not at the disposal of the tribal governments or the individual Indian families.

There must be a concerted effort to define a new status for Indian lands today, and it must come as a generation of new legal and social concepts. Today we have a multitude of political-economic entities such as the TVA, MVA, Ports of Authority, and other agencies which own lands that are protected under federal and state laws, although held in a quasi-communal tenure. We must use those agencies as models, and get a clear and simple definition from the Congress concerning our lands – and this must be done quickly.

We will seek this improved status only if we accept some measure of responsibility for our mistakes, and not always rely upon the BIA to make decisions for us. As long as the Secretary of Interior and his agents have a discretionary power to affect the use and management of the lands of Indians, there is no way we can preserve lands, waters, and resources. In spite of some of the hardest demands of tribal councils in recent years for a clarification of the status of Indian water rights, we all know the response of Interior officials who know that in the present state of Indian property law, they have the final word on the disposition of resources.

Protection from Harassment by States

Solving just those two things will enable us to project much farther into the future for more difficult problems. One of the most needed things today is a definition of the jurisdictional question. At the present time, it is a jungle of conflicting claims and counterclaims which produces a great deal of heat but hardly any light.

There is a very simply solution to this problem and it follows the line of reasoning we are using in the treaty defense of the Wounded Knee trials. Unless a state or the Federal Government can show a specific grant of jurisdictional powers from the Indian tribe concerned to that government, there is no state or federal jurisdiction that can be exercised against the Indian tribe. Perhaps the best way that we could bring this issue to the fore would be to push for the creation of a special Indian court, and all suits involving an Indian tribe would have to be filed in this court. The Court would have its own staff of experts or consultants who would prepare exhaustive materials on the background of an issue prior to the court attempting to resolve the issue. At the least, such a court would eliminate the constant harassment suits which states are using to plague tribal governments.

Such a court was originally visualized by John Collier in his original draft of the Indian Reorganization Act, but when the tribes in different areas demanded so many changes in the bill and Collier had to compromise, the idea of the court was lost. One of the major weaknesses of the operation of the present IRA statute has been that its enforcement is incomplete without the presence of such a court to guarantee tribal governments relatively hassle-proof protection from state and federal encroachments.

The final reformation that must be made is the complete overhaul of the Indian Claims Commission. The ICC has become an arena in which tribal rights are daily compromisec because of the pressing necessity of finishing the large caseload quickly, and because the Indians of too many tribes have lost hope of receiving a just deal from the Government, and are willing to take whatever dollars the Government dangles in front of them to avoid a prolonged conflict within the tribe. Principles have been cast aside by most tribes in the frantic rush for per capita payments from claims settlements. An examination of the series of agreements made by the United States with Indian tribes during the allotment days shows that this tactic has been used ever since the Government discovered that Indians would do anything for a per capita.

We must finally put those days behind us and refuse to sell our birthright for a few dollars. If the government wants to purchase our existing rights, let them damn well earn that right by fighting every step of the way for them.

Tribal Council Meeting at Golf Tournament

Now the future is not bright for Indians because even though possible solutions exist for the remedy of almost all of our problems, we have raised up a class of leaders who are more concerned with golf tournaments than with starvation on their home reservations. They would rather go to Nelson Rockefeller's home for a reception than to the isolated communities in their own homelands to assist their own people. They are more concerned with fighting other Indians than with fighting for the rights of their own people.

Certainly not all of the present leadership is of this ilk. But those who are really concerned about these problems too often sit silently in the audience at Indian conferences, afraid to cause any controvery, and allow the most outrageous things to be advocated in the name of Indians. They always have some excuse – that it's not their job; that there are more important things to do; that if this one wrong is allowed, other wrongs can be corrected. But it is a phenomenon that every Indian knows deep in his heart – that the decent people sit by and allow all manner of wrongs to be perpetrated in their name because they are afraid of being disliked. Sam Cagey once said that when you start getting arrows in the back, you know you're out in front.

Indians have survived over four centuries of oppression, but it is doubtful if we can survive even one generation of plentiful federal dollars being distributed to us with the only stipulation that we reject other Indians in order to get those dollars. My god, just how large a percentage of education funds are going to eastern Indians when one considers that the total federal expenditure on Indians now approaches some half-billion dollars a year, and that the vast majority of those funds goes to neither federal nor non-federal Indians, but to bureaucrats who work to keep both groups off-balance?

When future historians write about Indians in the Twentieth Century, what are they going to say? That for a time, it seemed as if Indian culture and values were returning, but a fierce struggle over political status and a determination of some Indians to deprive other Indians of any recognition at all led to the dispersion of Indian energies and generated such bitterness that when the time came for Indians to confront the major crisis of that century, they had all destroyed each other and there was really no one left to keep things together.

That is our present course, and if we look deeply into ourselves, we know that it is not the right course, for it shames not only our ancestors, but ourselves.

It is time to bring all of the people back together to correct the many evils that confront us, and to march into the future a united and determined people.

Early Winter 1975

Book Review

Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz's Indians of the Americas: A Travesty in Four Acts

A Review of *Indians of the Americas: Human Rights and Self-Determination,* by Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, Zed Books, London, 1984; 313 pp., paperback. By Ward Churchill, Director, Educational Development Program, University of Colorado/Boulder.

Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, one of the more articulate and prolific writers to have emerged from the ranks of contemporary Native American activism, is back with a new book. Her most ambitious effort to date, *Indians of the Americas: Human Rights and Self-Determination* has been published simultaneously by Praeger in North America and Zed Press of England.

Ordinarily, the release of Ortiz's efforts has been the cause for some degree of celebration among those concerned with American Indian issues. At least this has proven to be the case with her earlier books: *The Great Sioux Nation: Sitting in Judgement on America* (International Indian Treaty Council/Moon Books, 1977), *Economic Development in American Indian Reservations* (with Larry Emerson; University of New Mexico, 1979), *American Indian Energy Resources and Develpment* (UNM, 1980) and *Roots of Resistence: Land Tenure in New Mexico, 1680-1980* (UCLA, 1980). Regardless of specific deficiencies contained within these works, they have been generally considered as offering a very positive contribution to the literature.*

Indians of the Americas, however, is cause for consternation. For the first time, Ortiz seems to have engaged in a process of having tailored her factual treatment to conform to an *a priori* idealogical prescription. As a result, her handling of both contemporary and historical data is undercut badly, even to the point of shoddiness in certain instances. Needless to say, her potentially commendable and very important analytical project tends to discredit itself along the way.

The book is structured into four primary parts. The first section, an extended introduction purports to summarize the history of the Indians of the Americas from approximately 1500 through the present. Next comes a section handling the theoretical background of what, within marxist vernacular, is termed "the national question" from Tierra del Fuego to the Arctic Circle. The third section summarizes the history and status of the national question in North America, utilizing the experiences of the Dine (Navajo) and Lakota (Sioux) peoples as illustrated examples. The final section deals with areas south of the United States, and is evidently intended to pose an alternative to US practice througth elaboration of the Sandinista relationship to the Miskito (Ortiz spells this "Miskitu" thoughout the book) people in Nicaragua.

It is in the last connection that the problem inherent to Ortiz thesis become strikingly apparent. It is evident that she has made up her mind that the Sandinista government is a progressive hemispheric force relative to the heritage of overt imperialism and denial of indigenous sovereignty exibited by the US. One would, of course, be hard-pressed to disagree with such a pronouncement and, had matters ended there, all would be well. However, Ortiz goes on to conclude that because the Sandinistas are relatively progressive overall, they **must** be essentially correct in their handling of issues concerning the sovereignty and autonomy of native peoples such as the Miskitos.

She is, to be sure, willing to ceed that the young Sandinista government has stumbled into certain (correctible) errors in its relations with Indians, although exactly what these errors have been is left a mystery. On the other hand, she develops at length the historical and current reasons why she holds Miskito insistence upon real sovereignty is impractical, even absurb. A considerable amount of data is deployed to support her contentions in this regard, but the main points may be summerized as follows:

> 1) The post-contact history of the Miskitos and other groups indigenous to Nicaragua is such that traditional cultural forms have been distorted or lost, government in particular having been forced into conformity with European norms, and treaties/agreements made between Indians and non-Indians in Nicaragua historically were either never binding or have been eroded over time.
>
> 2) The by-products of colonialist exploitation, especially under the US/Somoza combo during the past 50 years, has served to hopelessly disrupt traditional indigenous economies and the landbase upon which they were predicated that any development of Miskito self-sufficiency is now unrealistic. Direct economic integration into the broader Nicaraguan state is therefore both necessary and humane.
> 3) Under such circumstances, the Sandinista extension of coherent "cultural autonomy" programs (such as indigenous language literacy compaigns and arts and crafts projects) addresses what is really meant by "the national question" in the Nicaraguan context. Miskito and other indigenous national needs are met or will be met through existing Sandinista policies.
> 4) In any event, "Miskitia" is not really Miskito territory insofar as it is now shared by several other ethnic groups, including a preponderance of Ladinos, whose needs must be considered equally with those of the Miskito in any "just" resolution of the national question in Nicaragua.
> 5) But for the armed intervention of the United States and its clients (eg: the contras) in the northern areas of Nicaragua, a situation imposing a wartime way of life in the impacted region, the national question would have long ago reached a resolution acceptable to all concerned parties in Nicaragua.

There is an undeniably strong logic running through this formulation. In the face of it, the apparent Miskito resistence to good Sandinista intentions seems absurb. The question thus becomes one of how to account for the absurb behavior of virtually an entire national/ethnic group.

Ortiz approaches this issue somewhat obliquely, more by inference than by outright statement or contention. Pointing to the example of Steadman Faggoth Muller, a former leader of the indigenous (primarily Miskito) sovereignty organization MISURASATA who moved into orbit of the CIA, she is able — by implication — to tar the entire sovereignty movement with the brush of US sponsorship. Viola! The riddle is solved: the CIA is manipulating and employing the Miskitos as a reactionary guerrilla army in essentially the same way that it utilized the h'Mong of Laos during it's "secret war" in that country during the 1960's. Indigenous organizations formed to pursue agendas of national sovereignty are thus neatly converted into constituting a fundamental stumbling block to achieving the degree of sovereignty appropriate to indigenous peoples within the Nicaraguan context. Rather than being Miskito patriots, the MISURASATA activists are merely the dupes of North American imperialism.

Such a contorted analysis should not be dismissed out of hand. The nether-world of clandestine operations "handled" by the western intelligence service in the Third World is replete with similarly convoluted examples of conflicted interest. Still, Ortiz's clear lack of cited evidence in establishing the **fact** of CIA control of groups such as MISURASATA, especially in view of her tendency to footnote virtually every other major contention offered in the book, renders her line of reasoning suspect in this instance. When coupled to the fact that the Sandinista government has itself recently entered into negotiations with MISURASATA designed to resolve indigenous demands for sovereignty in a manner acceptable to that organization, the reasoning passes from suspect to implausible. Had there ever been tangible evidence that MISURASATA was a CIA front, it goes without saying the Sandinistas would not be negotiating the settlement of an "internal" Nicaraguan problem with it.

An author, of course; has the right to speculate within even the most non-fictional of works (although, in non-fiction, it is surely reasonable that speculation be clearly deliniated from fact). Similarly, authors have a right to be wrong in their speculations. So Ortiz's little excursion into mud-slinging might be excusable on its face. It would have served as a convenient means to render otherwise incomprehensible MISURASATA demands for territorial integrity, political autonomy and economic independence at least more rational.

It is well to remember, however, that the incomprehensibility of MISURASATA's agenda is itself based upon Ortiz's own assessment of the current situation of the Miskito, and the quality of the data she brings to bear in making her case in this regard. It is equally important to note that the current Sandinista willingness to treat the positions advanced by MISURASATA seriously suggest that the Nicaraguan government is operating under rather less rigid and negative understandings of the feasibility of real Miskito sovereignty than those espoused by Ortiz herself. While this hardly serves to abolish the validity of her observations, it does at least render them suspect once again.

Here, it is interesting to contrast Ortiz's handling of the national question in North America to what she exhibits relative to Nicaragua. As regards to North America, for example, she rejects US government assertions concerning the erosion of indigenous rights to real sovereignty and the binding nature of treaty relationships. In her analysis of the situation in Nicaragua, she neatly reverses her field, pointing out that the Sandinistas have contested the legitimacy of past treaties with the Miskitos.

In North America, where levis, pick-up trucks and fry bread have become virtual signifiers of "Indian-ness," she acknowledges that there has been a tremendous disruption of indigenous cultures, but (rightly) notes that it remains possible in many — or most — instances to recover the essential vitality of the traditional worldview (and to reconstitute societies based upon that worldview). In Nicaragua, where the Miskitos still live in relative socio-cultural proximity to their traditional ways, she somehow discovers that cultural dislocation is beyond repair.

In North America, where the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 has saddled virtually every indigenous nation (including, to be sure, her two case studies) with an externally imposed puppet regime, Ortiz can readily discover strategies through which native self-government and self-determination might be realized. Among the Miskitos, on the other hand, she contends that the imposition of a "king" by the English has irretrievable destroyed the mechanisms of self-government.

Within the Navajo Nation of North America, a arid and semi-arid region which has been so devasted by mineral extraction, uranium contamination and the draw-down of water resources as to have been termed a "national sacrifice area" by the US government, Ortiz believes she sees the posibility of establishing a viable, self-sufficient economy based upon traditional modes such as sheep-herding. In **Miskitia,** a semi-tropical region with fertile soil more-or-less readily reclaimable by virtue of ample rainfall (and with the potential of ocean derived protein within an easy reach), Ortiz cannot discover a way by which self-sufficiency is an attainable goal. It is thus "humane" for the Miskitos to be incorporated into the general Nicaraguan economy in precisely the ways emphatically she rejects when undertaken by governments in North America.

Creation of written forms of the Lakota and Dine languages, arts and crafts programs and similar activities undertaken by the government of the United States in the name of the cultural advocacy of American Indian interests have been often (and quite correctly) dismissed by Ortiz as constituting tokenism and avoidance of the real issues. In her analysis of the Nicaraguan situation, she touts the extention of exactly similar programs by the Sandinistas as evidence not only of good intentions, but of active efforts to resolve what is **really** at issue.

Within the Lakota Nation of North America, Ortiz observes that the influx of non-Indians into Indian territory — the "checkerboarding" of reservations, etc. — has been a conscious part of US policy designed to erode Lakota rights and to prelude just settlement of land disputes. This, she concludes, reasonably enough, is an unacceptable situation which must be reversed. In Nicaragua, on the other hand, she points to the presence of large numbers of non-Indians in Miskito territory as evidence that it is no longer really Miskito territory.

This series of complete contradictions of her own positions leaves Ortiz in a conceptual position **vis a vis** the Miskitos which is not particularly different in its essentials from that expressed by the US government's Bureau of Indian Affairs relative to North American Indians. This is, to say the least, an odd posture for a supposed radical advocate of Indian rights to adopt.

Still, it is possible that the facts of the situation simply compelled Ortiz to assume her stance where Miskitia is concerned. Certainly, the data she offers tends to support her case rather seamlessly, and reality **has** been known to confute mere logical consistency often enough. Here, however, we enter into an area of somewhat slippery ground: critical information, of both historical and current import relative to Nicaragua, is virtually inaccessible (and hence unknown) to the vast majority of the potential readers of **Indians of the Americas.** It being largely impossible to assess Ortiz's Central American data base in its own right, we are left in a certain sense to assume out of faith that she preceeded accurately and in a reasonably unbiased fashion to assemble the empirical support to her own very strained argument.

Perhaps the only means open to most of us in North America to achieve a sense of the manner in which Ortiz has likely handled her factual material relative to the Miskito/Sandinista confrontation is to consider her handling of other, more known quantities, such as data pertaining to North America itself. As Ortiz is a professional historian, it seems appropriate to begin with the manner in which she deals with historical facts. We need read no further than page 6 to find her stating in all seriousness that, is precontact Aztec society, "A religious cult came to dominate which **daily required human sacrifice of thousands** of people to the Sun God (emphasis added)."

No citation is afforded this rather staggering assertion, a matter which is understandable given that it could only accrue from some of the most arcane, reactionary and long discredited sources imaginable (eg: Maurice Collin's *Cortez and Montezuma,* New York, 1954). The whole notion of a "theocratic holocaust" integral to Mexicano culture was, as is well known, fabricated as a means to contend that "Aztecs were as bad as the *Conquistadores*" and hence rationalize the nature of Spanish "progress" in Mexico.

Ortiz's objective, of course, has nothing to do with reinforcing the pronouncements of the right-wing intelligentsia. Rather, this most passing comment may be seen as an element designed to assist in setting the stage for validation of quite another vision of social progression which she herself advances later in the book. What is fundamentally at issue, however, is what has been advanced as historical **fact** here is — regardless of ideological intent — quite nonsensical in purely arthmetical terms.

To be as charitable as possible, and to accept "thousands" as indicative of only a bare minimum — that is 2,000 — then a daily sacrifice of human beings on the scale Ortiz posits requires an annual consumption of some 730,000 lives for satiation of the Sun God alone. Based against an aggregate population of some 30 million, the total population Ortiz assigns all of central Mexico in precontact times, such a population drain is a clear impossibility on any sort of sustained basis.

Elsewhere, the author plays equally fast and loose with her facts. For example, on page 151, she has the Navajo Grand Council being established in 1937, a full three years after the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. In actuality, the Navajo example occured a decade earlier, in 1927, and served as a prototype for the council form of government imposed more broadly through the 1934 legislation. Or, on page 183, she makes a point of some sort by noting "the Pitt River people's pride in killing the only US Army General (Candy) ever killed in battle. (Custer was a Colonel, and only made a General posthumously...) Actually, and quite contrary to Ortiz, 30 odd US general officers were killed in battle during the American Civil War alone. The last known such fatality, Major General George W. Casey (commander of the 1st Air Cavalry Division in Vietnam), was killed on July 7, 1970.

As concerns Custer, he was **never** a Colonel, nor was his promotion really posthumous. At the time of his death at the Little Big Horn, he enjoyed the active duty rank of Lieutenant Colonel (a step below Colonel), and the brevet (equivalent of reserve) rank of Major General, attained as a field commander during the Civil War. In 1862, nearly a decade and a half prior to his dearh, Custer had become the youngest Brigadier General ever to serve in the US Army.

This chronicle of errors concerning the North American historical record could be extended at length. The performance is odd (to say the least) for a professional historian, such as Ortiz. The problem does not end in the historical arena, however, but extends into Ortiz's contemporary factual understanding of indigenous circumstance in North America. For instance, on pages 169-70, Ortiz has it that "In one attack by nearly 100 FBI agents on a small Indian compound on the Pine Ridge Reservation in June 1975, two FBI agents were killed. An important Indian leader, not present on this occasion, was charged with the murders."

The Indian leader in question is, as Ortiz goes on to note, Leonard Peltier, currently seving a double-life sentence for homocide in the federal maximum security facility in Marion, Illinois. He was not, as Ortiz implies, the only individual charged in the deaths of the two FBI agents (and they were not the only fatalities of the day; an AIM member named Joe Stuntz Killsright was also killed). To the contrary, three other Indians (Jimmy Eagle, Bob Robideau and Dino Butler) were also indicted, two of them (Robideau and Butler) ultimately being tried and acquitted on grounds of self-defense. None of those charged, including Peltier, has ever denied being present at the scene of the fatalities, or of engaging in the firefight in which the FBI men died. Rather, they have contended that the deaths did not constitute the crime of murder. Finally, nobody other than Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz has ever suggested that anywhere near 100 FBI agents participated in the attack on the Jumping Bull compound near Oglala, South Dakota. It is certain that the attack was initiated by the **two** dead agents, and that in the aftermath some 15-20 additional agents arrived (albeit, supported by a much larger number of BIA police, GOON squad members and ad hoc groups of white vigilantes).

Elsewhere, on page 148, Ortiz observes that "6,000 Navajos would be uprooted" by current US government plans to force relocation of traditional people from the so-called "Navajo-Hopi Joint Use Area" of Arizona (a ploy to clear the way for extraction of an estimated 44 billion tons of coal in the area). These are US government figures, notoriously low, and generally discredited. The most common figure advanced relative to the number of Navajos to be impacted in this scheme exceeds 10,000. The AIM activists resisting forced relocation, whose perspective Ortiz purports to represent, operate from a figure of 13,500, nearly 10% of the Navajo Reservation's overall population and a figure lending substance of contentions of genocide.

Again, the list of Ortiz's factual errors could be extended to a considerable length, but the point should be made. Her inaccurate and misleading handling of data relative to North America is not restricted to sins of commission, however. There is ample evidence that she has consciously manipulated her information by ommission as well, in order to achieve a certain desired "factual" effect. Consider, for example, her treatment of proponents of a "Fourth World" perspective in the second section of the book ("The National Question in the Americas"). The Fourth World, or indigenist outlook is one which is attracting rapidly increasing numbers of native people recently, runs directly counter to Ortiz's own tacit sympathy to socialist goals and objectives, and which she has attacked rather stridently in a published essay ("The Fourth World and Indigenism: Politics of Isolation," *Journal of Ethnic Studies,* 12:1, 1984). The entire theory is allowed approximately one page and two quotations in a theoretical section running a total of 44 pages.

This should be contrasted to her devotion of approximately 10 pages to the rather lesser intellectual phenomenon of "Indigenous Socialism" (and "Contemporary Socialist Thinking") in the same section. When one adds in the clearly socialist cant displayed in other subheadings of the section, such as "The Significance of Ethnicity," the short change extended to indigenous theory per se becomes staggering (even counting the four pages she devotes to "Pan Indianism" as being clearly on the indigenist side of the equation).

The situation is aggrevated greatly in that she chooses to devote literally all her content on socialism to the formulations of obscure (by North American standards) Mexican, Bolivian and Peruvian Marxists such as Hector Diaz-Polanco, Pablo Gonzalez and Stefano Varese. The pronouncements of the various schools of North American Marxism are avoided altogether (which is probably a good idea, assuming one wishes to put the best possible face on Marxist thinking relative to indigenous populations). More importantly, Ortiz omits all reference to the fast developing North American indigenous critique of Marxist theory and practice as represented by the quite broadly distributed tracts of John Mohawk and Russell Means, among others.

As concerns references in a broader sense, omission — even deception — shows through once again. Throughout *Indians of the Americas,* Ortiz presents an appearance of a scholarly approach to her subject matter through the deployment of copious footnotes to support her various observations and assertions. In total, she utilizes 407 separate notes in the course of her exposition, a seemingly rigorous exercise in documentation. However, upon examination, one discovers that 46 of the notes — approximately 10% — lead directly back to Ortiz's own essays, articles, books and translations. This is exclusive of another 8% devoted only to amplificaiton of points made in the text rather than documentation and/or citation from *Indigenous World/El Mundo Indigena,* which Ortiz edits. Of the 124 notes Ortiz uses to support her case in her final section ("The Miskitu Nation in Revolutionary Nicaragua"), 15 accrue directly from the Sandinista Ministry of Information and other government agencies, 2 simply elaborate Ortiz's own sense of the Sandinistas' good intentions at greater length that is allowable in the text, and only 2 can be said to directly reflect MISURASATA data (by way of photocopies of documents and interviews).

In sum, it cannot be viewed as safe to assume that Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz's thesis concerning the nature of the Miskito national question in Nicaragua is in any serious way validated by her presentation of "the facts." Her book, at every turn, confronts the reader with inaccurate and sloppy utilization of data, elimination of uncomfortable or contrary information, lopsided analysis and resort to unabashed self-promotion as a (or **the**) reigning current authority on all things Indian. From this, it may be taken as given that the author's case has not been made and, insofar as she has obviously gone through some serious contortions to make things appear otherwise, one is led to strongly wonder whether it was ever even marginally tenable in the first place.

At the very best Ortiz, who might have proven one of the hemispheric Indian movement's strongest intellectual assets, has engaged in such a shoddy display of scholarship that it is likely that she has permanently discredited herself both academically and within movement ranks. In any event it will be a long road back to her former position of stature. At worst, she has joined the all but endless list of brilliant or potentially brilliant intellectuals such as George Lukacs and Louis Althusser who have willingly sacrificed themselves to the doctrinal demands of Marxism's Leninist/Stalinist tradition, forcing reality into conformance with "the party line."

All of us — leftist, rightist, indigenist and "apolitical" alike — are badly in need of both real insight into the Miskito situation, and the sort of comprehensive overview and analysis Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz claimed to be publishing. She does each of us an extreme disservice by trading on her reputation as an Indian activist in order to internationally misrepresent the situation. Worse, we will all be waiting just that much longer for accurate information now that she has utilized her position to secure typesetting costs on both sides of the Atlantic. The travesty which **Indians of the Americas** has no doubt displaced other, infinitely worthier efforts from all too limited roster of titles allocated to Indian subjects by the publishing industry.

POSTSCRIPT: It seems Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz has taken certain steps on her own to correct at least the appearance of contradiction, inconsistency and factual errors within her book. The route undertaken in this regard has been, with the manuscript already published under its original title by two different publishing houses, to simply extract the entire section dealing with North America, reorder and renumber the resultant manuscript pages, and resubmit the book under a new title **(The Miskitu Nation in Nicaragua)** to a third publisher for release as a "new work." Fortunately, this ploy was detected early in the game and project was abruptly canceled.

* To personalize: see my reviews of **The Great Sioux Nation (American Indian Culture and Research Journal,** UCLA, 1980), **Economic Development in American Indian Reservations (Journal of Ethnic Studies,** Western Washington University, 1980) and my review essay "The Implications of Publishing **The Roots of Resistence (Journal of Ethnic Studies,** 1981). The latter is an essay quite favorable disposed towards not only the book focused, but towards the body of shorter length material Ortiz had published up to that point.

SHORT NOTES

Saskatchewan: Rabbit Lake and Collin's Bay Uranium Mines

Northern Saskatchewan Survival Gathering and Blockade

June, 1985

There will be a Northern Survival Gathering on the Wollaston Lake Road, near the gate to the Rabbit Lake and Collin's Bay uranium mines from June 9-14; and a blockade of the mines will begin June 14. All concerned people are invited to participate.

The Collin's Bay Action Group (CBAG) was formed in December, 1984 with the purpose of coordinating the Gathering and Blockade. The Action Group is working closely with people from the nearby Native community of Wollaston Lake.

The Lac La Hache Chief and Band Councillors and the Wollaston Lake Local Advisory Council wrote an open letter to all concerned people in June, 1983. They stated, "it is important that we act now to stop uranium mining and exploration before the environment is destroyed. We urge your community or organization to support our protests and organize your own protests against uranium mining and exploration."

The anti-uranium movement Saskatchewan has for years tried other methods. Formal delegations and submissions to the provincial and federal government have failed. Protest marches have also failed. The corporate governments that own the uranium mines continue to expand their operations and refuse to take responsibility for the problems they have already created.

We now appeal to people internationally to attend the gathering and join the blockade as the next step in our continuing opposition to the "newkiller" industry. An industry which is inherently violent and destructive, which inflicts violence on workers and people through the release of radiation, which disregards the basic human rights and land claim of the Native people, which pollutes the environment with radioactive waste that will be deadly for generations, and which fuels a newkiller arms race that threatens the very existance of life on this planet.

During the four day gathering in advance of the blockade workshops will be held on: Local peoples' concerns, the international newkiller industry, appropriate development, and preparation for the blockade.

We aim to interfere with the operation of the mine and the corporation that run it. We plan to stop work at the Colln's Bay open pit mine that is scheduled to hit the main uranium deposit by midsummer; and we plan to stop operation of the Rabbit Lake uranium mill 6 miles away that has been contaminating Wollaston Lake since 1975.

All traffic into and out of the uranium operations will be stopped by non-violent, civil disobediance. Our peaceful action is a contrast to the inherent violence of the newkiller industry and the police state it creates. We will break the law openly and collectively with full knowledge of our actions and the consequences they entail. The power of the corporate government will not deter us since our opposition is based on legitimate moral concerns.

The blockade will be a rolling blockade, meaning there is no planned end. To enable it to continue as long as possible we are scheduling each group's arrival time. All people who attend the blockade will need to be in an affinity group, a structure which is the basic surivial, action and decision making unit. All people who go must attend a short workshop, to enable them to understand the aspects of the blockade which are essential for it to be part of a successful campaign against uranium mining.

There is a lot of work to be done. We will be very busy spreading the word and raising funds. If you can help, or would just like to be put on our mailing list, please contact us as soon as possible. Our mailing address is: **COLLIN'S BAY ACTION GROUP, Box 3183, Vancouver, BC. V6B 3X6. But don't rely on the mail system. Letters sent to us have not arrived, and those that do often come open or in a plastic bag. All mail received will be acknowledged. If you do not receive an answer within a reasonable time, please contact us by phone:**
Miles Goldstick (604) 688-7325 (Vancouver)
John Graham (306) 955-3159 (Saskatoon)
Hector Kkailther (306) 633-2003 (Wollaston Lake).

Indians: Targets For Nuclear Waste Sites?

By the turn of the century, commercial nuclear power stations and military programs in the United States will have produced approximately 77,000 tons of radioactive spent fuel. No proven technology exists for disposing of these nuclear wastes. If no storage is available for these wastes, nuclear plants will begin to close. Highly radioactive fission products must be isolated from the environment for thousands of years before the radioactivity decays to less than lethal levels.

The Department of Energy (DOE) has identified six states — Louisiana, Mississippi, Nevada, Texas, Utah and Washington — and nine Indian peoples — Choctaw, Coeur d'Alene, Las Vegas, Moapa, Navajo, Nes Perce, Uintah-Ouray, Umatilla and Yakima — as possessing the suitable geology for nuclear waste repositories. Indian reservations may be more susceptible to designation as appropriate waste sites than other communities in the United States. From the DOE's own line of reasoning, the poverty on Indian reservations is what makes them particularly suitable for nuclear waste storage.

Indian peoples are unfairly pegged for repository sites in the federal government's arbitrary designiation of communities which will be "affected" by nuclear waste siting. If a state or Indian nation is "affected", it is eligible to receive funds from the DOE for preliminary studies. However, the peculiar status of Indian people under U.S. federal law excludes them from participation in the critical early stages of the waste siting process. While all six states being considered for the first dump site are defined as "affected," only the Yakima and Umatilla are "affected tribes." The difference is that while the DOE determines whether a state is affected, the Interior Department determines whether a tribe is affected, and, for some reason, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which is under the Interior, limits that designation to tribes with off-reservation treaty rights.

Under plans for the second radioactive waste dump, the government is planning to inform only 113 of the 35 Indian nations within the 17 states that their reservations or off-reservation territories are potential repository sites. Again, while all 17 states are "affected," all the 35 Indian nations are not. The Menominee nation of Wisconsin is a good example of the arbitrariness of the government's definition of "affected" tribe. The Menominee reservation overlies the Wolf River batholith, a granitic rock body having high potential as a waste site. Yet, by the government's definition, the Menominee nation is not considered affected.

The problem with radioactive wastes is not technical but political, and the DOE is planning to overcome popular resistance to deep geologic disposal of nuclear wastes through an auctioning process which would set a price on "mitigation and impact assistance." "The setting of a collectively agreed-upon price," according to a recent DOE-sponsored study, "should eliminate most of the resistance, and more importantly, ally the large majority of the community with the decision to build a repository." The researchers admit that ethical objections may be raised to a process in which poor communities bid against each other for radioactive wastes sites, but suggests that "whether or not the auctioning process is used, low-income communities are more likely to be selected since they do not have the power to resist whereas affluent communities do."

The auctioning process is designed to prevent the kind of opposition that has already developed against DOE plans to construct the first permanent waste repository at the Hanford nuclear reservation in southeastern Washington. Intervention in the environment assessment review process by the Yakima Indian Nation, which retains fishing, hunting, food gathering and grazing rights to the lands and rivers around Hanford, has halted the drilling of an exploratory disposal shaft at the Basalt Waste Isolation Project.

Reactors producing plutonium at Hanford have already made the Columbia River, which is fed by groundwater under the site, one of the most readioactive rivers in the world. However, the momentum to develop the Hanford site as the nation's first high-level nuclear wastes repository is considerable. DOE promises of financial compensation may well exacerbate these threats to Yakima lands and people. Even many Washington state environmentalists believe that all nuclear and chemical waste activity should be concentrated at Hanford, where "accidents will threaten the least number of people." Native Americans in Wisconsin and elsewhere, many of whose lands lie in equally "isolated" areas, can expect to face similar struggles in the future.

by Al Gedicks

(Al Gedicks is the director of the Center for Alternative Mining Development Policy in Madison.)
From the Capital Times, Madison Wisconsin

Mapuche In Chile

More Arrests and Internal Exile for Four Mapuche Indians

On Thursday January 10th, two days after the release of six of them, 11 leaders of the Mapuche national organization, ADMAPU, were arrested in Temuco. In a new development, Admapu is now described in an official cable as a "proscribed" organization. The authorities say that the 11 were planning actions to subvert the public order and that the meeting was an infraction of the new rules for assembly established by the chief of the Temuco emergency zone.

Four of the 11 have been sent to internal exile (**relegacion**) for 90 days. It is not known where they have been sent. They are: Jose Santos Millao, President of Admapu (who already served a 90 sentence of internal exile in May-July, 1984); Rosamel Millaman, Secretary of Admapu; Domingo Marileo; and Manuel Pilquil.

Please pass on this information to your members and supporters, asking them to send telegrams and/or letters protesting this action and calling for an end to the official harassment of the Mapuche, to:

Sr. Sergio Onofre Jarpa, Ministerio del Interior, Santiago CHILE

(Survival International U.S.A., A Non-profit Organization to Advance the Human Rights of Indigenous Peoples, January 11, 1985.)

Ishigaki Island, Japan: Emminent Environmental Disaster

by Daniel C. Kuniya

As is well known, there are many U.S. military bases in Okinawa. In fact, more than ten percent of the island is being abused for military purposes. However, they still want more bases, and their next target seems to be Ishigaki Island 300 miles southwest of Okinawa.

Ishigaki and the surrounding islands like Iriomote or Yonaguni are still beautiful places where you can breath clean air and walk on a white beach. But now the (Japanese) government plans to construct a new airport for Ishigaki. The site chosen for this project is a tiny village called Shiraho. The government says, the new airport will bring in more tourists. But that's not the true story. Behind the project stands the fact that the U.S. Air Force wants to have another base. The new airport will be used by civilian aircraft but the present airport (which is big enough to receive jet carriers) will not be abandoned. It will be used by American and probably Japanese military.

The village people of Shiraho are now in a desperate struggle against the new airport. Some of them have been beaten up and arrested by Japanese riot police. The airport will not only destroy their existence as fishermen but also a huge part of the largest coral reef in the whole archipelago. Several species of coral will die, alone with all the fish that depend on them. Environmental damage will be enormous. Islands that used to be green jewels in a turquois sea will be turned into trash cans. Like pieces of poisoned earth floating in a pond of discharged engine oil. Because after the soldiers have moved in, oil plants and nuclear waste dumping will follow, and the earth will be raped. Who cares? Certainly not the American Air Force. And certainly not the Japanese government.

Short Notes

Nuclear Weapons in Denendeh — Yamoria Saw it Long Ago

Northwest Territory

In January, February, and March of 1985 the American government will again be testing their cruise missiles along the path of the Dehcho. Cruise missiles are for use in a nuclear war. The Dene Nation has strongly opposed the build-up of nuclear arms and has "refused to contribute to the destruction of the world."

Long before the whitemen came, a great medicine man, Yamoria came to Denendeh to help the people. He had a powerful vision of the world to come, the world in a nuclear age. George Blondin tells the story:

"Yamoria was all over the country, down to the Delta, around Aklavik and Slave Lake. He stopped at every village and asked the people if they were alright. When he came to the people living around where Echo Bay Mine is today he saw with his medicine that there were rays coming out of the rocks and that the people could get sick from them. He recognized that in the future there would be something very powerful that would come from the rocks and kill many people.

"At that time the people used to migrate to the north shore of Bear Lake to hunt caribou. The resource of caribou was very important to them; they used the hides for mocassins and tents, they made sinew, and they made dried meat. The people would take a long journey in birch-bark canoes, many people from different places around Bear Lake would travel and meet at the place of the caribou.

"Echo Bay Mine exists on a point of land. On either side of it are two deep bays. Yamoria made a law that you could not go in front of the rock. He said that the rock could harm your body. He was a great medicine man so the people obeyed him. They portaged their birch-bark canoes around the rock.

"On the way back the people were camping on the portage. Yamoria was making medicine all night. He was singing and yelling all night and in the morning the elders went over and said, "We hardly slept all night, there was so much noise. We got scared, maybe you saw disease.

"Yamoria answered, 'I saw far into the future on this point. I saw those people, same build as us except that their skin was white, I saw lots of houses made of board, something like steel that we never saw before. I saw flying machines land, and lots of white people loading the machine. I saw this big hole they made inside the ground and they were going inside the hole. I wondered what they were picking up.'

"Yamoria went inside the hole to look. Inside the ground he saw lots of machines and lights. He saw the rock that was shooting off rays and they were putting it into a flying machine.

"He followed the rock into the city. There they were making something out of it. Then they put it on another plane and Yamoria saw that they were dropping it on the people. He saw a lot of people burning and dying from the rock. He saw all that in visions. Then he came back to the place where his body was.

"He said that the rock would not harm the people at that time. But he knew all about the harm that would come to people. In the morning he told all the people.

"Yamoria was only one individual that could see things of the future. All kinds of Dene had medicine. There were people who had the power to cure people, to bring fish and caribou to the camp, to understand how the sky is. I still believe that all the Dene had special powers that have been given to them."

Source: Dene Nation Newsletter, 12/21/84
Yellowknife, NWT

US/USSR Bi-National Research Park in the Bering Strait

THE MAINLAND of the Soviet Union lies only 60 miles from the mainland of the United States in the Bering Strait, which sparates Alaska and Eastern Siberia. The two sides of the Strait are like mirror images of each other. On both shores are lagoons, bays, rivers, and other common environmental features of great ecological importance. In the Strait itself are meteorological and oceanic phenomena of high scientific interest, and the Strait is a channel of extraordinary importance for the migration of fish and ocean-going mammals. The regions have common arctic birdlife, botany, and land animals living in equilibrium with common and fragile arctic permafrost ecosystems.

Would it not make sense, in the present stress between our two countries, to create an American-Soviet Bi-National Research Park that will promote cooperative scientific studies of the unique natural environment common to both halves of the area? The region could become a common laboratory for cooperative environmental investigations of great fundamental importance. I would like to see the two governments agree to permit establishing laboratory facilities on both continents, within short single-engine airplane travel distance for each other, with lab space, dormitories, cafeterias, conference space, and small plane strips. They should also make special arrangements for frequent and facile summer travel by scientists from both sides to work on common research problems in a cooperative mode, free from red tape of usual binational scientific exchanges.

The idea of creating a bi-national environmental research "park" in the Bering Strait area occured to me more than 15 years ago, when it did not "catch on". Under the concept, the two nations would designate as a research park a region about 175 miles by 110 miles centered exactly on the Bering Strait. The research preserve thus would extend about 50 miles inland on both continents. A look at a large scale map reveals that the two land masses possess remarkable symmetry of landscape, and have similar ecosystems. Bird nesting and migration, fish migration in the Strait, ocean currents through the narrow passage between the continents, and a host of other natural ecosystem topics beckon to researchers.

Within the zone special and joint research could be conducted on biological, environmental, anthropological, cultural, atmospheric, oceanographic, and other fascinating aspects of this unique region, the point of closest geographical contact of the nations.

The concept may be too idealistic. But it seems to me it would have great symbolic power. It could be a tangible sign of cooperation between the world's two most powerful nations, whose relations today are at a deep impasse. I can foresee no national security hazards from either nation's standpoint. Is it worth a try?

Source: The CoEvolution Quarterly Fall 1984

(This is an idea which should be pursued. and if it is then the bi-national concept should be expanded to the include the indigenous peoples on both sides of the Bering Strait. They, after all, have been co-existing with all of the "environment", including one another for many centuries. Perhaps the scientists would then learn important facts of life outside of what their laboratories and statistics reveal. Perhaps they would even learn beyond the physical presence of labs, parks, research stations and zones; into that sacred realm of life known to native people as "the allness of Creation." Ed.)

Nuclear Waste Conference

PORTLAND — On Tuesday, February 12-13 Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission will present a conference on nuclear waste at the Hilton Hotel, 921 S.W. Sixth. The conference will focus on the health effects of radiation and the proposed siting of a nuclear waste repository on the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in Washington.

Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission is the coordinating body of the four Columbia River treaty tribes of management of the river basin's anadromous fish resource. The tribes are the Nez Perce Tribe, Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation, Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon, and the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakima Indian Nation. Three of the four member tribes — the Umatilla, Nez Perce, and Yakima — have successfully petitioned for status as "affected Indian tribes" under the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982. The act gives states and affected Indian tribes the right to veto a nuclear waste repository in their areas, subject to being overruled by both houses of Congress, and provides funds to study health, safety, and environmental effects of a repository at Hanford.

Source: Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission, 2705 East Burnside Street, Suite 114, Portland Oregon 97214.

Emergency Alert: German Political Prisoners

Today I am sending an EMERGENCY ALERT to you for once...It sounds strange to you maybe, but today we also need your support.

Only a little while ago we sent letters of support to Indian prisoners (Michelle Richards, Leonard Peltier, Dennis Banks, and others) hoping they might help or at least raise peoples spirits in a way that they are being heard even in Europe.

Now this matter here has to do with our struggle over here. We have a (sometimes) strong movement here of people who believe that the destruction of the earth and all life upon it must be stopped. Some people call it peace-movement (though in my opinion it is not my intention to preserve the peace of the ones who have political power today), some people call it resistance...there are many different ways and opinions in this movement, too. But one thing unites us: the knowledge that we internationally have to fight for a better future for the coming generations, get rid of this system that destroys everything.

Anyway, today we have many political prisoners in Germany. They are being held in high security prisons under inhuman conditions.

On December 4, 39 political prisoners started an unlimited hunger-strike. They demand to get out of isolation cells, no more light and sound barriers, they demand the right to receive letters, books, newspapers, free political discussion — and information. And of course they must be allowed to have friends visit them. Some prisoners are being kept in so-called "dead wings", they are being transported naked, they cannot even look outside the windows, neonlight day and night.

The prisoners demand conditions according to the Geneva Convention.

Another demand is to live together in groups. The prisoners understand this demand as an offensive against the strategy of the state to destroy the prisoners in isolation physically and — very important — their willpower. The prisoners confront this

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destruction program with their collective strength. They know exactly how sharp the confrontation is being caused by their hunger-strike; they also know that their way to survive in prisons is to demand these rights.

Practically no information about the situation of these people gets out. The more it is important to support them publicly.

Germany is a country that can afford not to sign the Convention against torture.

Two prisoners are close to death already, for instance Brigitte Mohnhaupt, another man (Helmut Phol) and others are being forceably fed in the prison hospital and the lawyers say that psychopharmaka is being added to their food.

Since the hunger-strike started there have been attacks on 24 different Nato military institutions and logistic industries connected with military planning for Middle and South America. These attacks caused a few Million Marks damage. Nobody was injured, though. All these militant actions were connected with the hunger-strike. Even the green party decided to support the prisoners demands for human conditions, of course they do not support the prisoners militant policies.

Well, so these things sort of shake the Federal Republic of Germany. And the big hunt for political activists is on.

I thought you might be interested to know about that.

Finally, I wish that you might also feel concern for those people who — as we believe — are in prison for us, their struggle is also our struggle, we are outside, but anyone who opens his/her mouth might be the next.

In my opinion I believe that support is always a two-sided matter.

You people needed international support for the Wounded Knee trials, and many others. Dennis Banks had a very open trial through the support of many people. That is good! These people here need international support, too. They need it desperately. Most of them are women. If you should decide to send a letter of support it should happen soon, since those people will not hold out much longer, either way.

Send letter or telegram to:
Barbel Roos (sister of prisoner), Gaubstr. 5, 6000 Frankfurt am Main, West-Germany.
or
Postlagerkarte, 050 205, 7500 Karlsruhe 1, West-Germany.

Treasury Board Approves $4.4 Million for Grassy Narrows Band

THUNDER BAY, ONTARIO. (January 23, 1985) — Settlement grants totalling $4.4 million to the Grassy Narrows Indian Band were announced today by the Honourable David Crombie, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and acknowledged by Chief Arnold Pelly.

The federal funding is to implement a claim settlement signed by the Grassy Narrows Band and the Federal Government on June 27, 1984. The federal settlement amount will be divided into $2.9 million sum to be provided to the band's economic development corporation, and a $1.5 million sum for the band's social service development and planning corporation. The management of the two corporations will be accountable to the band membership, consistent with the department's policy of moving towards a situation where Indian people can exercise greater control over their own affairs.

The community has been facing severe social and economic problems since the dumping of mercury into the Wabigoon/English river system from a paper mill in Dryden. (The mill, formerly owned by the Reed paper company was purchased by Great Lakes Forest Products Ltd. in 1979.)

The purpose of the federal settlement funds is to alleviate the social and economic problems of the Grassy Narrows Band and to contribute to the long-term self-sufficiency of the reserve. A comparable agreement to provide assistance to the Islington Band was reached in 1982.

The band is engaged in continuing negotiations with the companies, the Provincial Government and provincial agencies. Mr. Crombie has indicated his willingness to help promote a settlement of outstanding issues between the band and other parties.

Contact: A. Campbell, Intergovernment Affairs, INAC, (819) 994-3434.
J. Olthius, Negotiator, Grassy Narrows Band, (416) 979-2443.

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Emmett Hall Appointed to Grassy Narrows-Whitedog Mediation Process

THUNDER BAY, ONTARIO. (January 23, 1985) — The Honourable David Crombie, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, announced today the appointment of the Honourable Emmett Hall as his personal representative to facilitate negotiations between the Grassy Narrows and Islington bands, Great Lakes Forest Products Ltd. (GLFP), Reed Inc., and the Ontario government.

Mr. Hall's responsibility will be to promote a settlement between the bands and the companies and to advise the Minister of Indian Affairs of necessary action to reach this objective.

The two Indian bands have been facing severe social and economic problems since the discovery of mercury pollution of the Wabigoon-English river system from a paper mill in Dryden. The mill, formerly owned by the Reed paper company, was purchased by Great Lakes Forest Products Ltd. in 1979.

In 1977 the bands initiated legal proceedings for compensation but the legal action was stayed when a mediation process was established involving the federal and provincial governments. The process has resolved some issues between the bands and the two levels of government, but negotiations with the companies have not progressed sufficiently, promoting Mr. Crombie to approach Mr. Hall for his assistance.

"Mr. Hall has a wealth of experience and knowledge in the conciliation and arbitration fields as well as a sensitivity to Indian concerns and an unparalleled knowledge of the law," Mr. Crombie said. "I am convinced that he will be able to use these talents to resolve a problem which has continued for too long."

The Honourable Emmett Hall has had a long and distinquished career, including eleven years as a Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada (1962-1973). His opinion, given in the celebrated **Calder** case (1973) dealing with aboriginal rights in British Columbia, is especially remembered as a watershed in the jurisprudence of aboriginal rights. This case was a crucial importance in leading the Federal Government to establish a policy for negotiating Native land claims.

Six Nations Passport

(This was in answer to B.A. von Oertzen's letter to the U.S. Consulate asking how it happened that the Mohawk Passsport issued by the Mohawk Nation, was recognized.)

CONSULATE GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Alsterufer 27, 2000 Hamburg 36, Fed. Rep. of Germany

Dec. 4, 1984

Thank you for your letter dated Nov. 15, 1984 where you ask about the validity of passports, which were issued by the tribe of Mohawk.

An important part in the rise of our country was the negotiating with the native Indian tribes. There were negotiations about renuncuations of Indian countries in favour of the United States. Normally, the results of these negotiations were ratified by treaties.

At those negotiations the Indian tribes were regarded as souvereign nations. Most of the tribes in the area of the United States still have this status, therefore they are not directly under federal laws and they still have an exceptional position.

This historical background shall be an explanation for that even modern American Indians still have passports, which were issued by their tribe.

If you are interested to get exact information on the status of the American Indian tribes of today, you should write ot the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which is part of the Minestery of the Interior:
Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, 1951 Constitution Ave. N.W., Washington D.C. 20245.
I hope I was able to answer your questions by this.

Yours,
Dennis J. Ortblad
Vice-Consul of the United States of America

Quakers Support New Trial for Leonard Peltier

Leonard Peltier is currently serving a long and harsh prison sentence for a crime he may not have committed. While imprisoned, he has sought to practice his religion. But, even after an extended fast, he has been denied.

New evidence that might show him innocent has been discovered, and the primary government witness has recently admitted that she falsely testified.

Mr. Peltier is an American Indian man who was present when two government agents were murdered. The time was 1975, two years after an occupation of Wounded Knee which asked for basic human liberties. The place was Porcupine, South Dakota, near the site of the massacre of Wounded Knee, occuring in 1890. Based on the testimony of an Indian woman and the results of aballistic analysis, Mr. Peltier was convicted in 1979.

He is now serving two life sentences in a federal penitentary in Marion, Illinois. Since 1983 this penitentiary has been in a lockdown (inmates remain in cells 23 hours a day), and, allegedly, behavior modification and drugs are used to control the prison population.

He is now in the middle of an evidentiary hearing, meant to determine whether there is sufficient reason for a new trial. This hearing is being decided by Judge Paul Benson, who convicted Mr. Peltier and he may delay deciding for up to 18 months.

The importance of this case goes beyond the individual and beyond his community. As Quakers we believe there is that of God in all people, whether the word "God" is used to describe this enormous spirit, or "Wakan Tanka", the great mystery, as Mr. Peltier's people, the Lakota, choose to name it.

We ask that Mr. Peltier be treated well while imprisoned, that he be allowed to practice his native faith, that he be given a fair hearing by an impartial judge. And above all else we ask that Indian people — all people! — be respected as human beings.

On behalf of Friends Meeting at Cambridge,
Skip Schiel
Friends Meeting at Cambridge
5 Longfellow Park
Cambridge, Mass.
Telephone: (617) 876-6883

From Our Bookstore

1985 Catalog Changes

Page 18 —

CHIMBORAZO (limited Supply) The treatment of people in South American Indian Community is depicted in this book. Ppk. (Limited Supply!!) **Reduced to $1.00.**

Page 20 —

NATIVE HARVESTS BY Barrie Kavasch. Features many recipes and botanicals of the American Indian. **Ppk. $7.95.**

INDIAN SIGN LANGUAGE By William Tomkins. A book for anyone who wants to learn or teach Indian sign language. Signs to convey meanings of over 870 words. **Ppk. $2.75.**

ROLLING THUNDER By Doug Boyd. A true account of an amazing modern-day medicine man. Rolling Thunder is an American Indian spiritual leader, philosopher, and spokesperson, who has the ability to make rain appear from nowhere, heal injured limbs, and to find and make medicine from herbs anytime of the year. A man who represents all living matter. **NOW $7.95.**

Page 21 —

JAMES BAY PROJECT A River Drowned by Water, by R. Wittenborn & C. Biegert, is written in English and French which covers the issue of the flooding of the traditional Cree lands in 1981. **Ppk. Reduced to $10.00.**

CUSTER DIED FOR YOUR SINS By Vine Deloria Jr. Deals with the red mans' situation in America today, also destroys the stereotypes and myths about the Native American. **Ppk. NOW $3.50.**

INVASION OF AMERICA By Francis Jennings. Excellent work on Indians, colonialism, and the cant of conquest. **Ppk. NOW $7.95.**

HISTORY OF THE FIVE INDIAN NATIONS, By Cadwalleder Colden. Discusses the religion, manners, customs and government of the Iroquois Confederacy. **Ppk. NOW $6.95.**

CHEER UP OLD MAN, By David Martinson. A story of an old man with a warm heart. Excellent for children. **NOW $1.50.**

SHEMAY: THE BIRD IN THE SUGARBUSH, By D. Martinson. Is a colorful picture book and easy reader for young children. **Ppk. NOW $1.50.**

RED RIBBONS FOR EMMA, By New Mexico People & Energy Collective...The true story of a Navajo whose neighbor is one of the largest power plants in the world. Red Ribbons for Emma is the warm and spirited story of Emma Yazzie, who is holding onto her land and her dreams even amidst rapid energy development. A different kind of hero-an Indian, a grandmother, a woman living far from the city-Emma Yazzie is an inspiration to children and adults alike. (New Mexico People & Energy), 47 pages. **(Now Back In Print). $5.00.**

— WE STILL CARRY —

ELDERBERRY FLUTE SONG: Contemporary Coyote Stories and Poems, By Peter Blue Cloud/Aroniawentrate, The Crossing Press, Trumansburg, New York. 142 pp. Available from Akwesasne Notes. **$7.95.**

VISIONS IN INK: Drawings by Native Nations/The works of Kahionhes (John Fadden), 8½ x 11" approx. 40 pages on very fine paper. More than a collection of fine black and white ink drawings, it has been used by the students and teachers of our Freedom School to guide in rememberances of history and stories. This fine book is an educational tool and cultural reference recommended for all ages. A book worth keeping. **$19.95.**

EARTH POWER COMING, is a major collection of fiction by 31 Native American authors. All of the stories are very contemporary but they derive very clearly from the older oral tradition. All manner of topics dealt with, speak upon critical issues of the past and present as well as the future. The setting for the stories are varied as well as the writers who are from Alaska, New York, California, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona and all points in Indian America. Some of the authors are well-known and established not only as prose writers, but also as poets, but all of them are committed to expressing a literature that can only add a deeper and more expansive dimension to world literature. Ortiz, a short writer and poet, offers introduction and a perspective on EARTH POWER COMING, a welcome addition to the other fine books published by Navajo Community College Press. **$10.95.**

CORN HUSK DOLLS

These dolls are made from white sweet-corn husks and are dressed in traditional and contemporary attire. Each doll is a representation in miniature of the various phases of Iroquoian culture and customs.

These are collector's items, as no two dolls are ever made exactly alike. Each Corn Husk Doll is a one-of-a-kind item.

We will accept Special Orders: for example...a family grouping of three dolls can be made or dolls can be made depicting just about any phase of Iroquoian life that you request.

8" DOLL — $55.00 EACH

A

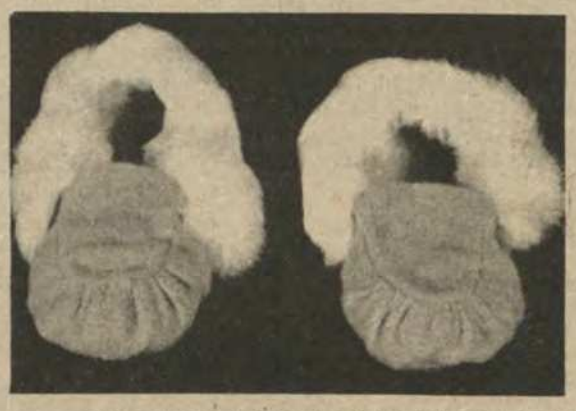
B

C

AKWESASNE FREEDOM SCHOOL T-SHIRTS ARE NO LONGER IN STOCK.(Page 17)
SORRY!! WE NO LONGER CARRY BACK ISSUES OF AKWESASNE NOTES.(Page 22)
ALL BUTTONS ARE NOW $.50 plus $.50 FOR POSTAGE.(Page 31)
FILMS ARE NO LONGER IN STOCK.(Page 36)

Moccasins

Size	Plain	Rabbit Fur	Beadwork	Fur/Beadwork
0-7	$16.25	$17.00	$25.00	$28.50
8-13, 1-3	$18.75	$20.00	$26.00	$30.00



We No Longer Sell Wholesale Crafts

WE HAVE A LIMITED SUPPLY OF AKWESASNE NOTES 1985 CALENDARS — REDUCED PRICE OF $5.00.

ALL ORDERS ARE TO BE PREPAID. THANK YOU!!

based on Ireland. I found all this out from a book I am reading that is a collection of writings by Marx and Engles on Ireland and the Irish question.

I'm looking forward to receiving your paper, for I don't know very much about Native Americans. Plus you seem to have such important news from all over the world. Accurate news about people's struggles is hard to find.

Thank you,
Sincerely Jane O'Brien
10 Austin St., Somerville, MA 02145

Japan Green Federation, c/o Ecology Sha., 2-15-14 Hongo Bunkyoku Tokyo Japan. Newly formed to protect the life on earth. Newsletter available.

Journey To The Spirit World, Wica Nagi Makoce Ekta Oicimani Wan Buddy Red Bow. Tatanka Records & Tapes, 6949 Highway 73, Evergreen CO 80439. Notes, Indian Time and CKON-FM Mohawk Stereo recommend this one. GREAT!

Almightly Voice, P.O. Box 34332, Station 'D', Vancouver B.C. V6J 4P3. A well-thought out & visually pleasing booklet by and for Native Americans behind bars in Canada and the U.S.A. Articles, letters, graphics and more. Support all brothers and sisters behind bars!

WOUNDED KNEE SELF-SUFFICIENCY Wacipi Committees, Tiyospaye Crisis Center: Fund-Raising Trip to Eastern U.S. Planned for Feb-March.

Tiyospaye Crisis Center, 4031 Osage St., Denver CO 80211 (303) 477-8090, Mike Sturdyvant, Walter Littlemoon. NOTES has been making initial contacts in the NY region and passed them on to Denver and WK. We do not know yet, if there is enough response for them to come East. We have a few leads, mostly Central NY State, while fundraising is extremely difficult these days, there are long-term reasons for such a trip. Funds will go toward a new community building at WK. There is still time to set up a schedule, phone or write to check it out.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Dear Friends,

I, too, felt slightly uncomfortable about Winona La Duke's article on West Germany. She writes the truth, but it is only part of the truth. We, Dutch people, are Germany's closest neighbors. We can watch German TV programs every day and the border is only an hour away. This enabies us to keep a close view on what happens "back East". And-Winona is right about this — the German Federal Republic isn't one of the most liberal democracies. (But neither is France, where all media are state-owned, or Belgium.)

However, I do not agree **at all** with her silent assumption that the situation in West Germany is as bad or almost as bad as in the Third Reich. Such an assumption entails a devaluation of the suffering which took place in the concentration camps during Hitler's regime. Gunther Grass, a well-known left-wing writer in West Germany, has called such viewpoints "an insult to all those who died for freedom under the Nazi jackboot". Talk with any Holocaust survivor and you need not know more.

Another thing which struck me was the total silence on "the other Germany", i.e. the German Democratic Republic, where things are not better but probably even much worse. I am not a "Commie-hater" but these are things which need to be said. There is **no** freedom of opinion in the GDR, no freedom of the press, no possibility for the people to raise their voices against anything. The people of Berlin are divided by a wall which was built in the fifties by the GDR government to prevent people from pouring out of the country. Hundreds of refugees have been shot since by special border patrols. East Germany is a dreary, Prussian police state — without concentration camps, but with a mighty state apparatus to control every aspect of the people's lives. Initiatives such as the Survival Schools would be impossible in the GDR, because Big Brother not only watches, but also controls, everything. What all this boils down to is: we should stop looking at the western countries only if we want to criticize.

One doesn't become a reactionary overnight by raising a critical finger at the other side of the curtain. On the contrary, close scrutiny of the situation in Communist countries will probably show us that there isn't as much difference between the two systems as Reagan and Tchernjenko want us to believe. Both political spheres are nuke-ridden, missile-ridden, and polluted. if we want these things to dissappear we should realize that the Communist world, too, is sacrificing its coming generations to an idealogy called Progress At All Costs. And both scale self-sufficiency ventures which are beyond their ultimate control.

Best Wishes, Edith Te Wechel
The Netherlands

Hello,

As you can guess, I am very interested in the problems and struggles of all native peoples in the world, especially in your problems and struggles. But I don't agree with **all** your positions, about Europe and the european civilization.

I am member of a movement whose name is G.R.E.C.E. (Group de recherche et d'etudes pour la civilization). here are our positions: We think that the whole world is now in a critical situation; we support all kinds of struggles from the native peoples, but we include the european peoples in the "native peoples"! We are for Europe but against Occident. We think the original fault is the Christianism, which is not an european system. We believe that each folk in the world must develop itself **its own way.** There is no superiority nor inferiority between the folks, but there are differences. The occidental way-of-life (way-of-eating, way-of-thinking...) is the direct result of christianism, through the republican and democratic ideas of the XVIII Century. The most dangerous idea of the world: egalitarism. Its modes of diffusion and action on peoples: christianism, liberalism, and marxism. The real antic european spirit is not egalitarist; so we want that europe drop the egalitarist idea, and return to its ancestral "way-of-thinking": pluralism, tolerance, non-exportation of its own way-of-life, etc...In this way, we think that all the other struggles in the world are justified and right, the American Indian as well as the Arabic struggle in Palestinia, the Irish struggle, etc...We fight the egalitarist idea, which is now represented by the American system, christianism, and the society system. We think that capitalism (liberalism) and communism aren't enemies, but allied, in this way that they have both the same aim: to build a society where all folks and all individuals are identical, non-differencied, where all cultures are banished in favour of the international uniculture. And that is what we fight, because we love our earth, our folk, as well as the Earth, and the Folks. There is no "third way" to find, there is a second way: the way of the pluralist cultures, where every folk is its own master, where no priest comes to learn us the "Real One Way to Paradise", where everybody drinks what he wants, and not only Coca Cola, where everybody listens to the traditional music of its folk, and not only to the beatific and empty music of Michael Jackson. I hope you will understand what I mean, although my English is not good enough to explain such quite difficult ideas. And I hope you will understand that the enemies of the native peoples are not the european peoples, but the ideology which lean on them. We are victims, just as you are. And we endure the dictature of this idealogy since two thousand years...

Brotherly,
Frederick CREUZET
France

Greetings, To The People,

We, the Indian Brothers incarcerated here at the Federal Correctional Institution at Oxford, Wisconsin send this message with a firm and warm handshake to all.

First of all, we belong to the Indian Brotherhood Cultural Group known as the United Natives of North America, (U.N.N.A.), which is a non-profit organization. Our Group has been in existence since the inception of Indian prisoners here. The main objective for establishing this group has been to maintain and/or to gain knowledge of our heritage to better ourselves. Positive aspects of the Indian way of life have been incorporated into our foregoing constitution and by-laws. We do have the opportunity to practice our Spiritual ways, as long as they do not interfere with the security of this prison. At present, we do have a group ceremonial pipe, sweat lodge and drum.

Our intentions for this letter is to inform you, all of our people, of our ongoing situation. We have been experiencing the lack of support of our people for various reasons. One we know about for sure is, those of us imprisoned within the federal system are prone to be placed as far away as possible from our families and friends. Therefore, our own blood cannot give us the needed support we desire. This is an underhand tactic of the system to keep imprisoned Indians oppressed. The majority of Indian brothers here are from the Dakotas and westward. Our families are typical Indian families, below the poverty level with fixed incomes, which are small anyway. Therefore, it is not feasible for them to travel long distances to visit and attend our group sponsored activities, such as our Annual Gatherings and Pow Wows. As previously mentioned, our group is non-profit and this situation refuses to allow group inmate accounts. For us, there are no available monies to pay drum groups and dancers for their time and effort. Of course, we do make gifts of beadwork, artwork, ceramics and leatherwork to be given away at those times. However, having no monies has an effect on people. Apparently, they seem to go where the money is, (sic).

Our public relations efforts has receives very little response with a few Indian clubs showing interest. We have received little support from the Tribes and Indian communities within this state we now reside in. There are exceptions to this, but hardly enough. We can't figure this out. We assumed there was a good commandery for all Indians. That we all helped and shared with one another. We know there exists tribalism amongst our people, sadly we must admit that this will continue until there are enough traditionalists to be heard and seen as it was long ago. We are greatly saddened when we brothers here let the people know well in advance of our coming events. When the time comes to Pow Wow, hardly anyone shows up, devasting.

We brothers have only the knowledge of the culture we know as Indians to keep us together in here. We know that it is through these ways that we will return to our own peoples and be able to contribute to our societies in whatever they may need. In the past and even today, some of us are doing time because we believe in a common cause for our people and stood up and were counted as warriors. Whenever there existed the need for support for the people, you could see many of our faces there. Accepting the harsh consequences of being counted was nothing compared to the strong beliefs and devotion to the cause of our people. You ask yourselves, are those brothers and sisters doing time and being punished for their crimes. Or is it because of who they are?

Albert Irwin, UNNA Secretary
P.O. Box 1000, Oxford WI. 53952

Dear Editors,

I am a member of the Nez Perce Tribe. I am presently serving a sentence of 5 years indetermined at the women's prison here in Orofino.

I have been denied the beading material that I had at my home. I was told by the deputy warden that the only way I could have beadwork is to purchase it through the hobby crafts officer.

I do not have the funds available to make such a purchase.

I would like to request donations of beads and money to make such purchases of other materials required to complete my beading projects. Monetary donations in money orders only.

I miss doing my beadwork very much. I have been beading approximately 14 years. I would appreciate your assistance so I may be able to get back to doing my beading.

Sincerely, Melvina H. Major #21390
Hospital Drive North #23, Orofino, Idaho 83544

Frankfurt am Main, West-Germany.
or
Postlagerkarte, 050 205, 7500 Karlsruhe 1, West-Germany.

Treasury Board Approves $4.4 Million for Grassy Narrows Band

THUNDER BAY, ONTARIO. (January 23, 1985) — Settlement grants totalling $4.4 million to the Grassy Narrows Indian Band were announced today by the Honourable David Crombie, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and acknowledged by Chief Arnold Pelly.

The federal funding is to implement a claim settlement signed by the Grassy Narrows Band and the Federal Government on June 27, 1984. The federal settlement amount will be divided into $2.9 million sum to be provided to the band's economic development corporation, and a $1.5 million sum for the band's social service development and planning corporation. The management of the two corporations will be accountable to the band membership, consistent with the department's policy of moving towards a situation where Indian people can exercise greater control over their own affairs.

The community has been facing severe social and economic problems since the dumping of mercury into the Wabigoon/English river system from a paper mill in Dryden. (The mill, formerly owned by the Reed paper company was purchased by Great Lakes Forest Products Ltd. in 1979.)

The purpose of the federal settlement funds is to alleviate the social and economic problems of the Grassy Narrows Band and to contribute to the long-term self-sufficiency of the reserve. A comparable agreement to provide assistance to the Islington Band was reached in 1982.

The band is engaged in continuing negotiations with the companies, the Provincial Government and provincial agencies. Mr. Crombie has indicated his willingness to help promote a settlement of outstanding issues between the band and other parties.

Contact: A. Campbell, Intergovernment Affairs, INAC, (819) 994-3434.
J. Olthius, Negotiator, Grassy Narrows Band, (416) 979-2443.

Letters

Dear Sir:

As managing Director of the Alberta Human Rights & Civil Association I much appreciate your printing of the letter re the brutalizing of Phil Bearshirt in the "hole" at the Edmonton maximum jail Fall issue.

We must speak out against victims of the system being further victimized when they lay a complaint. Phil's lawyer was shocked when Phil was whisked away to another province without his knowledge. Under our new Charter of rights and freedoms people are supposed to be guaranteed freedom from cruel and unusual treatment, as well as to have a remedy if they want redress.

In practice, the establishment gangs on the complainor, and no legal aid is available. In the case of a native friend imprisoned falsely for ten years, he was further brutalized by the system.

I do hope you can agitate for the United Nations to take action where torture takes place in a "free and democratic society" quoting our Charter. People of all backgrounds must unite NOW!

Sincerely, A.E. Welsh

(Source: Alberta Human Rights and Civil Liberties Association, Room 337, 10765-98 St., Edmonton, Alberta T5H 2P2, Phone: (403) 421-0846)

Dear Notes,

I have been trying to study economics in college to learn about the "machine", but it is very complex subject and I have a difficult time in mentally grasping the "variables of the system."

I wonder if you at Akwesasne, or some of your contacts are aware of a "ruling council" called the International Monetary Fund (IMF for short). They are the group to which maybe all of the Less Developed Countries of the world are in debt to in massive amounts. I have done **some** research on this group at college and their power is great. It is like the IMF is the tool which the Western Nations (U.S. mainly) keep the people of 3rd World Countries on slave chains. The debtor chains where many countries have to run their national policies in the interests of the international bankers. The IMF is described a little in the paper that I am enclosing, yet the full story is very comprehensive and the people around the world suffering or dying as a result of the IMF imposed "Austerity" programs are many.

The developed nations of the world **exists** on a certain **economic system** which is based on expansion, eg. expanding and growing electronic industry, **money industry,** etc. Expansion is the primary interest regardless of the costs in the environment, ecology, human lives lost (or people living in poverty next to death). The natural resource drain and growing amounts of garbage, debris, chemical wastes, and Radioactive wastes by the megaton are some of the marks of this civilization. The developed nation states of this world (and their economies) also exist and feed on wars and death in the 3rd world countries all around the globe. One can go the the Marcos dictatorship of the Phillipines, El Salvador, Argentina, Vietnam, Aphganistan, the Mid-East, Chile under Pinochet, or many other places and find the same thing. Weapons for death made by the U.S., Russia, France, and other countries are a way of life, the way of the present World Economic System. Right now I am very lost in knowing just what to do from within, or from without the present system...any suggestions?

"It" is a very comprehensive system today. One can learn a bit of strategic groups such as the IMF, the Trilateral Commission, the Council on Foreign Relations, and many others like the CIA, KGB, British Secret Service, and then you try to figure out what's going on and what to do **for life** on our Earth Mother.

There are massive numbers of people starving to death **right now** in Ethiopia, but what of the 70% total of the worlds population who live at or below the poverty level where they are permanently hungry and dying? Where does a sane person start to work for Life itself before the system and people that run this world destroy the life supporting systems of the world (eg. plants, ozone air, water, and just about every vital part the Ecosphere.)

Thanks, I wish the best, and keep on keeping on,

Wes Foster

Editors,

Enclosed is $8 for a subscription to Akwesasne Notes. I picked this paper up for the first time today. (early winter 1984) I'd seen it around before but never looked at it. I was impressed.

It must have been fate that made me pick it up today. For I am an Irish-American, and lately I've been intensely studying the history and culture of my people. My family came two generations ago from somewhere in Galway. My grandmother was a native Irish speaker.

What predominates in Boston among Irish-Americans is a very poor self image along with racist atitudes toward others. Not everyone's like that, but those that aren't tend to keep their mouths shut so they don't get harrassed. In the city of Boston you can see crew cut, red headed, freckle faced kids on the subway, strutting their green and white T-shirts that say, "God Made The Irish #1". People who are "straight off the boat" tend to think this is all pretty weird. One woman I know who's from Tipperary sent a couple of these bogus T-shirts home as gag gifts for her friends.

As a child, I rejected my Irish heritage because all I saw were the type of bogus images I just described to you. But when Bobby Sands went on a hunger strike in 1981, my interest in learning about what Ireland is really like was sparked. Over the last three and a half years I've studied much, though I still have much more to learn. I am interested in seeing a progressive politics built in the Irish-American community based on cultural and historical traditions and firmly linked with the struggles of all oppressed peoples throughout the world. I don't know if it can be done. I think it will be very hard. But I'm grateful for the opportunity to correspond with a like minded individual across the Atlantic, and my next letter is to Kalichi from Galway.

By the way, I have a little to add to the remarks made by Ken Collier from Saskatoon. A significant portion of the **Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State** by Frederick Engels was based on his observations of what was taking place in Ireland between 1840 and 1880 (the potato famine & the Fenian movement among other things). Engels was involved for many years with an Irish woman by the name of Mary Burns. When she died he married her sister Lizzie. Much of the original marxist theory on national struggles was based on Ireland. I found all this out from a book I am reading that is a collection of writings by Marx and Engles on Ireland and the Irish question.

I'm looking forward to receiving your paper, for I don't know very much about Native Americans. Plus you seem to have such important news from all over the world. Accurate news about people's struggles is hard to find.

Thank you,
Sincerely Jane O'Brien
10 Austin St., Somerville, MA 02145

Listings

Natural Organic Farmers' Association of New York, P.O. Box 454, Ithaca NY, 14851. A weekend exploring sustainable agriculture. March 16-17, 1985. At Cornell Univ. College of Agriculture. Over 40 workshops & panel discussions for beginning and experienced farmers.

Food Conspiracy Coop News, 412 North 4th Ave., Tucson AZ. 85705. Organizing, organic food thoughts, etc.

2 Conservation Working Holidays, Foothills of the Pyrenees, July-Aug. 1985, Project to create Permaculture Farm & Training Center, Camping, etc. in forest. Write (sase or Int. coupon) Assoc. Las Encantadas, Ferme La Carrique, 11300, Festes St. Andre France.

International Genetic Resources Program, RR1 (Bereford) Brandon, Manitoba R7A 5Y1 Canada, P.O. Box 1029, Pittsboro, NC 27312, Seed saving, survival of rare livestock, gene embargoes, World Coverage. Good Source.

The Workbook: Southwest Research & Information Center, P.O. Box 4524, Alburquerque NM 87106, Issue Vol. IX No. 4 Oct/Dec 1984, very good articles on groundwater pollution, waste disposal. Lots of reviews & contacts, sources/resources.

Univ. Oklahoma Health Sciences Center, P.O. Box 26901, Library Bldg. Room 113, Oklahoma City OK 73190. A summer program for American Indian students interested in health careers. Write for information.

Japan Green Federation, c/o Ecology Sha., 2-15-14 Hongo Bunkyoku Tokyo Japan. Newly formed to protect the life on earth. Newsletter available.

Journey To The Spirit World, Wica Nagi Makoce Ekta Oicimani Wan Buddy Red Bow. Tatanka Records & Tapes, 6949 Highway 73, Evergreen CO 80439. Notes, Indian Time and CKON-FM Mohawk Stereo recommend this one. GREAT!

Almightly Voice, P.O. Box 34332, Station 'D', Vancouver B.C. V6J 4P3. A well-thought out & visually pleasing booklet by and for Native Americans behind bars in Canada and the U.S.A. Articles, letters, graphics and more. Support all brothers and sisters behind bars!

WOUNDED KNEE SELF-SUFFICIENCY Wacipi Committees, Tiyospaye Crisis Center: Fund-Raising Trip to Eastern U.S. Planned for Feb-March.

Tiyospaye Crisis Center, 4031 Osage St., Denver CO 80211 (303) 477-8090, Mike Sturdyvant, Walter Littlemoon. NOTES has been making initial contacts in the NY region and passed them on to Denver and WK. We do not know yet, if there is enough response for them to come East. We have a few leads, mostly Central NY State, while fundraising is extremely difficult these days, there are long-term reasons for such a trip. Funds will go toward a new community building at WK. There is still time to set up a schedule, phone or write to check it out.

Poetry

A Man's Life

Alvin James Bridges,
Native American fisherman,
was arrested 24 times protecting
his people's
lawful treaty right to fish.

Assaulted by racism
for the final time,
Al Bridges died,
September 13, 1982,
at the age of sixty.

Al was a large man —
fisherman, logger,
father and grandfather.
He taught his three daughters
to set nets
in the Nisqually River
next to their home.

In 1854, the U.S. Army
and Governor Stevens,
paid agent of the railroads,
conducted the robbery
of the people's lands.
With the Medicine Creek Treaty,
greatgrandfathers relinquished
two million acres
but retained their right to fish.

Part of the Nisqually land
was condemned in 1917
by the City of Tacoma
to give as a gift
to the Army.

Along with Maiselle, his wife,
his daughters, Suzette, Valerie
and Alison,
and many others,
Al had made the long struggle
for his people's sovereign right
to fish and to live.

Today, Weyerhaeuser has
donated
a 30-foot cedar pole
worth $5,000
which the Seattle Port Commission
is presenting to
sister-city Rotterdam, Holland.

Made into a totem pole,
as were those donated
to Yokohama and Stockholm,
none *was carved by*
Native Americans.

They will be admired in other cities
as Weyerhaeuser closes
plants here, opens plants
in South Africa, paying Africans
$120.00 a month.
And Native American children
have a 45-year life expectancy.

Racism killed Al Bridges.
Along with Ernest Lacy,
murdered by police in Milwaukee,
and an Afro-American transit worker,
in Brooklyn.

Al Bridges was arrested 24 times.
And the Corporations
laughed all the way to the bank.

We will make the real murderers known
to future generations.
The real criminals
will be made to
account for their
insidious dollar-inspired
crimes.

Whatever happened
to Al Bridges,
the real murderers
sit in corporate offices
at teakwood desks,
clipping coupons,
buying stocks and
selling people's lives.

Weyerhaeuser,
ASARCO smelter,
St. Regis paper mill,
Boeing,
Boise Cascade
and mining, fish and
lumber companies.

The Game Department
and Fisheries Department both
tried to kill Al
by ramming his boat.
Even with heavy waders
he saved himself
many times
by swimming ashore.

A canoe seized from
Al and Bill Frank
in 1963 was returned
by state authorities
in 1982.

Tear gas attacks
on his family's land
tore Al from bed
at night.

One daughter,
Valerie,
fisherwoman,
drowned mysteriously.

State Game Department goons
with twelve-cell metal
flashlights
beat a tattoo
on the roof of Al's car.
Thurston County
sheriffs threatened
to get him,
to cut his long hair.

And Al Bridges was arrested 24 times.

He went on the Washington bus
to the first
Poor Peoples' campaign
in 1968.

Al escorted a doctor
through the U.S. Marshals'
line and safely
delivered him inside
Wounded Knee, under
seige.

Year after year,
day after day,
the assault went on,
for a lifetime,
for generations.

Whatever happened
to Al Bridges,
the real murderers
sit in corporate offices
at teakwood desks,
clipping coupons,
buying stocks and
selling people's lives.

Counting the money
all the way to the bank
from white, Black
and Native American
workers
divided by racism.

The Banks growing
fat with interest dollars.

The television screams
"Indians and Canadians
use up the fish."

The streams full of slash timber,
the spawning gravel beds
ruined,
Bay waters polluted
from pulp mill and smelter,
And $75,000 fishing boats
chasing Native Americans
in the dark
over ancient
waters
instead of organizing for a
fair price from the Canneries.

And I.T.T.
(owner of lumber mills)
laughing all the way to the bank.

The same multinationals
counted extra profits
every time
Black South African strikers,
Lebanese trade unionists,
Iowa Beef pickets and
the Rev. Ben Chavis
went to jail.
And Al Bridges
was arrested 24 times.

Al and Maiselle's
grandchildren
learn of his fight and
make ready
to take their place.

Grandpa Frank has seen
more than 100 years.
Today, he and Grandma Frank
watch,
as Indian fishermen set
nets in the Nisqually River
and swallows dip
over the curving banks,
protected
partly by the Boldt decision,
and the many,
who like
Al Bridges,
took their stand.

Lonnie Nelson